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ESSAY

ON

MIXED LANGUAGES

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ON

THE EXISTENCE

OF

MIXED LANGUAGES

BEING

AN EXAMINATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL AXIOMS OF THE FOREIGN SCHOOL OF MODERN PHILOLOGY, MORE ESPECIALLY AS APPLIED TO THE ENGLISH

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Prize Essay

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πολλαὶ μὲν θνητοῖς γλῶτται, μία δ' Ἀθανάτοισιν

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PREFACE.

THIS WORK had its origin in an advertisement offering a prize for an Essay on the subject of Mixture in Languages, especially in English, which appeared in some of the literary journals of May and June 1875. The Author is aware that it possesses not a few imperfections, and that many philologists will regard the whole of it as a mistake, since they have expressly declared 'a mixed language to be an impossibility.' This assertion is called an axiom, or self-evident truth, but surely it ought not to be admitted without proof. The Author has attempted to show that, in point of fact, its contrary is the truth, and he therefore throws himself on the indulgence of the public, to whom he offers his work for what it may be worth.

STATEMENTS TO BE EXAMINED.

'In the course of these considerations we had to lay down two axioms, to which we shall frequently have to appeal in the progress of our investigations. The first declares grammar to be the most essential element, and therefore the ground of classification in all languages which have produced a definite grammatical articulation; the second denies the possibility of a mixed language.'[1]

'Taking the actual number of words from a good English dictionary, the sum total will be over 100,000. Words of classical origin are calculated to be about twice as numerous as pure English words; hence some writers, who have only considered the constituent parts of our *vocabulary*, have come to the conclusion that English is not only a mixed or composite language, but also a Romance language. They have, however, overlooked the fact that the *grammar* is not mixed or borrowed, but is altogether English.'[2]

PRINCIPAL WORKS CONSULTED AND NOT ACKNOWLEDGED IN THE BODY OF THE ESSAY.

Max Müller: *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 1st and 2nd Series.

Diez: *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen; Etymologische Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen.*

Lewes: *Essay on Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages.*

Raynouard: *Lexique Roman.*

Earle: *Philology of the English Tongue.*

Borrow: *Gypsies in Spain; Romano Lavo-Lil.*

Balbi: *Atlas Ethnographique.*

Adelung: *Mithridates.*

Brachet: *Historical Grammar of the French Language.*

Halliwell: *Dictionary.*

The Publications of the English Dialect Society.

Morris: *Historical Outlines of English Accidence.*

[1] Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 1st Series, p. 74.

[2] Dr. Morris, *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*, p. 34.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER 1

PART I.

GENERAL EXAMINATION OF THE SUBJECT.

SECTION

1. JARGONS 7
2. LINGUA FRANCA OF SOUTH EUROPE 11
3. MALTESE 13
4. HINDÚSTÁNÍ 15
5. GYPSY OR ROMANNY 19
6. PERSIAN 23
7. TURKISH 24
8. BASQUE 27
9. CELTIC 29
10. ROMANCE LANGUAGES GENERALLY 30
11. SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE 41
12. FRENCH 44
13. WALLACHIAN 47
14. TEUTONIC LANGUAGES GENERALLY 49

PART II.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

SECTION		PAGE
1.	The English Language is mixed	53
2.	The Anglo-Saxon Element	55
3.	Other Germanic Elements	66
4.	The Norse Element	68
5.	The Celtic Element	73
6.	Elements from Distant Parts	74
7.	The Latin and Neo-Latin Element. English is a Teuto-Romance Language	76
8.	On English Pronunciation	111

CONCLUSION 124

MIXED LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

CERTAIN philologists have stated that a mixed language is an impossibility, but the truth of the axiom may well be doubted; indeed, as it would, perhaps, be impossible to find any modern language which contains no foreign elements, it is evident that the principles involved in the question are fundamental.

Language consists of three parts—sounds, words, and grammar; and a mixture in any one of these points produces a mixed language.

Perfectly pure languages have only existed in very early or very rude stages of society. Whenever there is an exception, the language which violates this rule must eventually commit suicide. Few languages have been more stringently protected than Greek, yet modern Greek is of no literary importance; and even that, in its colloquial forms, contains much Turkish; but, as these and other impurities are not permitted in literature, the lateral development of the language is crippled. The purity of Latin was jealously guarded, but it is now a dead language, whilst the Italicisms, the Tuscanisms, and vulgar Latinisms, have been developed into the modern Romance languages.

The evil of measuring out a language by rule and line may be seen in modern French. There is scarcely an European language in which a translation of Shakspeare looks so bald as in this—a result of the meagre list of classical vocables allowed by the pedantic Academy. As, then, in the physical world with animals, so also in the mental with lan-

guages, mixture of blood becomes almost a necessity of existence; and, this being the case, it is well to know that as there are about a thousand languages now spoken, besides an infinite number of dialects, the various degrees of mixture are endless. Military, political, commercial, and missionary enterprise, as well as the fickle dictates of fashion, bring peoples together, and thus new ideas are circulated, which require new words to express them. New words are either composed out of the existing roots of a language, or, what is more frequent, are adopted from foreigners. Perhaps in this way every modern language has been mixed, for it seems almost impossible to conceive a nation to exist which has always been so exclusive as to have effectually withstood the importation of foreign roots.

As these new words so introduced must of necessity be communicated orally from one individual to another, they are, at first at least, pronounced as nearly as possible as in their original language, and thus foreign sounds are brought in with the foreign words, and nothing is commoner than to find certain letters introduced to express these new sounds.

But mixture in grammar does not take place so easily. It always supposes a violent revolution, either political or religious, or else a great influx of new blood by emigration.

Grammar is therefore, on account of its greater individuality, chosen as the primary classifying principle in philological enquiry; but there is no doubt that its importance in this respect has been much overrated, and it is too often *practically treated as the only principle of classification.*

Suppose now, for instance, that every gypsy dialect in the world were swept away except the English variety, and of this every written particle to be lost. Now, although the English gypsy language is almost the same in grammar as English itself—in fact, there are very few if any gypsy points left in it at all—yet no philologist would for a moment say that Romanny was a dialect of English; *but if grammar alone is to be the classifying principle he would be obliged to do so.* We, however, all know that in this case we should hear something about the Romanny roots being so entirely

different from ours that it would be totally impossible to regard the language of the gypsies as a dialect of English.

Again, if grammar is to be accepted as the *only* classifying principle, we shall confess our utter inability to deal with those languages of which Chinese is the type, for these are composed of 'monosyllabic roots without the capability of composition, and hence without organism, without grammar' (*Bopp*). In Chinese there is 'no formal distinction between a noun, a verb, an adjective, an adverb, a preposition. The same root, according to its position in a sentence, may be employed to convey the meaning of great, greatness, greatly, and to be great. Everything, in fact, in Chinese depends on the proper collocation of words in a sentence' (*Max Müller*).

It would be very cumbersome, if not impossible, to classify such languages as Chinese by collocation of words, their substitute for grammar; but, if taken in conjunction with roots, it would be a most valuable secondary principle.

Roots are more durable than grammar, and therefore should have some consideration paid to them, more especially as all grammatical inflexions are in their origin also roots, being all traceable to nouns, verbs, pronouns, &c., in the oldest forms of Aryan speech.

This being the case, prefixes and affixes are as much entitled to be considered as grammar as inflexions; in their origin they are the same, and in meaning they are often identical. And grammarians do so consider them; for in most grammars there is a chapter on the formation of words by their means.

Word-building is, therefore, just as much grammar as declension, conjugation, syntax, &c.

This being the case, let us apply the principle. The French word *fay* (*foi*) is introduced into English, and finds a permanent place in the language. We are told that such introductions do not make English a mixed language. We next learn that most Germanic languages form a large class of abstract and a few concrete nouns by the addition of *th*, and in English the words *earth*, *birth*, *breadth*, *broth*, *depth*, *dearth*, *death*, *filth*, *health*, *mirth*, *length*, *sloth*, *stealth*,

strength, *truth* or *troth*, *wealth*, *worth*, and *youth* are quoted as examples of words thus formed from *aran* (Go. to till), *bear*, *brœdan* (A.S. to make broad), *brew*, *dip*, *dear*, *die*, *foul*, *hœlan* (A.S.), *mœran* (Icelandic to rejoice), *long*, *slawian* (A.S. to be slow), *steal*, *strong*, *treowian* (A.S. certum esse), *well*, *weorðan* (A.S. to become), and *young*. Here, then, is a definite grammatical principle laid down, viz. that the addition of *th* to an adjective or verb will make a noun. The rule is then applied to the strange root *fay*, and the theme *faith* is produced; and yet we are told that there is no mixture in the *grammatical* structure of the word. But if '*word-building*' is a portion of grammar, then is the English language mixed, and the process of proof may be carried on further still by means of the words *faith's*, *faiths*, *faithful*, *faithfully*, *faithfulness*, *faithless*, *faithlessly*, *faithlessness*, *unfaithful*, *unfaithfully*, *unfaithfulness*—all hybrids. If it be urged that this is only *English* grammar, and that therefore there is no mixture according to the definition of a mixed language, another root may be taken—say, *trust*, from A.S. *trywsian*. Then the word *trustee* is formed on the model of the Romance, *-ée* being the French form of Latin *-atus*. Of this form we may mention *appellee*, *devotee*, *grandee*, *legatee*, *grantee*, *vendee*, &c.—all Romance words, to which the English have made the word *trustee* assimilate. This would show a mixture in grammar even according to the strictest definition of the terms, for the ending *-ée* has a definite grammatical meaning attached to it, viz. the expression of the object of an action.

Grammar, then, can be mixed, and is often found so, though not to any very great extent. Grammatical structure may be the most essential element of classification, but it will be seen that the rules on this subject must be very elastic, or all philological enquiry will be crippled. Vocabulary must also be fairly taken into consideration.

There is, however, a third principle which should not be entirely passed over in classifying languages. This is pronunciation. In English, for example, we have the words *hour*, *honour*, &c., from the Latin *hora*, *honor*, &c., and yet

differing considerably from the Latin, 1st, in the substitution of a smooth for a rough breathing, and 2nd, in the addition of the letter *u*. Both these are evidences of Romance influence on our language, and are valuable for that reason. It is true that the printers are determined to give us *honor*, just as they have already given us *governor* instead of *governour* or *gouvernour*; to be consistent they should give us back the aspirate, and write *hor* instead of *hour*. Pronunciation, then, cannot be entirely disregarded; indeed, in English it is a most essential point.

Languages, therefore, ought to be classified according to three principles instead of one, viz :—

1. Vocabulary.
2. Grammar.
3. Pronunciation.

And it can be shown that most modern languages, and certainly English, are mixed in all three points.

It has been proved in practice that—

1. We may have mixtures of vocabulary and pronunciation almost entirely void of grammatical structure—such, for example, as the jargons where barbarous and civilised nations meet.

2. We may find these jargons gradually developing themselves into lingua-francas by acquiring a kind of grammatical structure.

3. We may have mixtures of vocabulary and pronunciation with the mixture in grammar at a minimum, which is the general character of all modern languages.

4. We may, again, have mixtures where two or more vocabularies, pronunciations, and grammars are joined together and arranged side by side, such as Turkish of Constantinople, which is anything but the Turkish of the country clown.

5. And, finally, we may have a language which to its own vocabulary and pronunciation has added the grammar of another speech, such as the Romanny of Spain, Hungary, and England.

In the prosecution of this enquiry the principal difficulty is the abundance of materials. Wherever one nation has

conquered another, civilised another, or converted another, there may we look for mixtures in language, and thus the subject would naturally embrace a history of the world. The points, therefore, selected for illustration in this essay must necessarily be few, and perhaps may not be the most fitting; only a perfect knowledge of history and of philology could make this possible.

The illustrations chosen are—

1. Jargons and lingua-francas.
2. Maltese, a Semitic language.
3. Hindústání, an Indian language.
4. Romanny, or Gypsy, an Indian language.
5. Persian, an Iranian language.
6. Turkish, a Turanian language.
7. Basque, a polysynthetic language.
8. Celtic.
9. Romance languages, especially French, Spanish, and Wallachian.
10. Teutonic languages; especially Danish, Swedish, High German, and Dutch.
11. English is a mixed lingo, which will be more particularly considered in the second part of this essay.

PART I.

GENERAL EXAMINATION OF THE SUBJECT.

§ 1. *Jargons.*

WHEREVER civilised and barbarous nations, or nations of an entirely different civilisation, entrench on each other, their speech is usually a jargon—that is to say, a mixture of several languages without regard to any other matter than convenience of communication.

In a jargon the more cultivated language suffers more than the other, for civilised man must submit to be governed by the simpler ideas of the savage, and condescend to speak as he does, just as a mother must submit to the ideas and vocabulary of her young children. Intricacies of grammar are out of the question, but their place is supplied by an infinite number of small words in the form of auxiliaries and particles.

The subject of jargons is important, for we may by their study obtain clearer ideas of many weighty points, as, for example, the formation and origin of those European languages now called Romance, which were once nothing more than jargons of various Gothic and Latin dialects.

The colonies are fruitful in jargons. The savage will learn the roots of the language spoken by his European master, but he cannot understand grammar, and therefore cannot arrange these roots correctly. To supply the place of grammatical construction the savage multiplies determinative words, he arranges his sentences in his own way, and he pronounces the words as much like his own language as he can. Thus the Canadian French taught the Indians to despise *les Anglais*, but the Indians, having no *l* in their language, could arrive at no nearer pronunciation of the name of the hated race than *Angay*, from which they easily arrived at *Yankee*.

Dr. Wilson, in 'Prehistoric Man,' gives some curious

particulars of the language of the distant hunting-stations in North America.

'Fort Vancouver,' he says, 'is the largest of all the posts in the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory, and has frequently upwards of two hundred voyageurs, with their Indian wives and families, residing there, besides the factors and clerks. A perfect Babel of languages is to be heard among them, as they include a mixture of English, Canadian French, Chinese, Iroquois, Sandwich Islanders, Crees, and Chinooks. Besides these the fort is visited for trading purposes by Walla-wallas, Klickatats, Kalapurgas, Klackamuss, Cowlitz, and other Indian tribes; and hence the growth of a patois by which all can hold intercourse together. The English, as it shapes itself on the lips of the natives, forms the substratum; but the French of the voyageurs has also contributed its quota, and the remainder is made up of Nootka, Chinook, Cree, Hawaiian, and miscellaneous words contributed to the general stock. The common salutation is *Clak-hoh-ah-yah?* which is believed to have originated from their hearing one of the residents at the fort, named Clarke, frequently addressed by his friends: "Clarke, how are you?" The designation for an Englishman is *Kin-tshosh*, i.e. King George; while an American is styled *Boston*. *Tala*, i.e. dollar, signifies silver or money; *oluman*, i.e. old man, father, &c. The vocabulary, as written, shows the changes the simplest words undergo on their lips, e.g. fire, *paia*; rum, *lum*; water, *wata*; sturgeon, *stutshin*; to-morrow, *tumola*. And the French in like manner: la médecine becomes *lamestin*; la grasse, *lakles*; sauvage, *savash*, i.e. Indian; la vieille, *lawie*, &c. The formation of the vocabulary appears to have been determined to a great extent by the simplicity or easy utterance of a word in any accessible language. As to the grammar, number and case have disappeared, and tense is expressed by means of adverbs. Nouns and verbs are also constantly employed as adjectives, or prefixes, modifying other words; and are further increased, not only by borrowing from all available sources, but by the same onomatopœic process to which has been assigned the growth in some degree of all

languages. Thus we have *moo-moos*, an ox, or beef; *tiklik*, a watch; *tingling*, a bell; *hehe*, laughter; *tum-tum*, the heart; *tum-tumb*, or *tum-wata*, a waterfall; *pah*, to smoke; *poo*, to shoot; *mok-e-mok*, to eat or drink; *lip-lip*, to boil. Nor is this patois a mere collection of words. Mr. Kane informs me that by means of it he soon learned to converse with the chiefs of most of the tribes around Fort Vancouver with tolerable ease. The common question was, *Cacha-mikha-chacha?* Where did you come from? and to this the answer was, *Sey-yan*, From a distance; but in this reply the first syllable is lengthened according to the distance implied, so that in the case of the Canadian traveller he had to dwell upon it with a prolonged utterance to indicate the remote point from whence he had come. *Mikha* is the pronoun you; *neiki*, I; as, *neiki mok-e-mok tschuck*, I drink water.

'Mr. Hales, the philologist of the United States Exploring Expedition, remarks in reference to the Indians and voyageurs on the Columbia river: "The general communication is maintained chiefly by means of the jargon which may be said to be the prevailing idiom. There are Canadians and half-breeds married to Chinook women, who can only converse with their wives in this speech; and it is the fact, strange as it may seem, that many young children are growing up to whom this factitious language is really the mother-tongue, and who speak it with more readiness and perfection than any other."'[1]

The negro talkee-talkee of Guiana is another example. It is a combination of Dutch, though shorn of its grammar, with all kinds of roots—African, American, English, French, Portuguese, and, since the substitution of coolie for negro labour, probably Asiatic also.

The Dutch began to colonise Guiana in 1627, having been preceded by Spaniards and English. In 1667 the state was recognised as a Dutch colony, and remained such, with occasional short intervals, until 1802, when the English captured it. At the general peace in 1814 a portion only was returned to the Dutch.

[1] Wilson, *Prehistoric Man*, ii. 430-2.

The government of Holland, regarding its colonies simply as so many sources of gain, neglected the interests of the native populations. Thus in Guiana no pains were taken to educate even the children of the whites, and multitudes grew up unable to speak any other language than talkee-talkee. The Moravian missionaries found themselves obliged to learn this debased tongue or to give over preaching, and they therefore translated their prayers and the Bible into it. They at length made representations to the British and Foreign Bible Society, the result of which was that their version of the New Testament, which had long been used in manuscript, was published under the title of '*Da Njoe Testament va wi Masra en Helpiman Jesus Christus*, translated into the Negro-English language by the Missionaries of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren. Printed for the use of the Mission by the British and Foreign Bible Society. London: 1829.' The Negro-English and the Negro-Dutch of St. John ii. 9 is given as an example of this curious jargon:—

Ma teh grangfoetoeboi tesi de watra, dissi ben tron wieni,
But when grandfootboy taste that water, this been turn wine,
kaba a no sabi, na hoepeh da wieni kemotto (na
could he no know from where that wine come out of (but
dem foetoeboi dissi ben teki da watra ben sabi): a kali
the footboy this been take that water well know): he call
da bruidigom.
the bridegroom.

In the island of Hayti there is to be found a similar jargon, with a foundation of French.

In Jamaica and other English West India colonies the Negro-English is much more perfect:—

'Peter, Peter was a black boy;
Peter him *pull foot*[1] one day;
Buckra[2] girl, him[3] Peter's joy;
Lilly white girl entice him away.

[1] To pull foot = to elope, abscond. [2] European.
[3] The negroes do not make the distinction between *him* and *her*.

'Fye, Missy Sally, fye on you!
Poor Blacky Peter why undo?
Oh! Peter, Peter was a bad boy;
Peter was a runaway.'[1]

The Negro-English of the United States is familiar to us from the novels of Mrs. Stowe and others, as well as from the songs of the Christy Minstrels.

We must now turn to the continent of the Old World, where we shall also find jargons.

The Pigeon English of Canton is one of the most important, for it is the medium by which most of our Chinese trade is transacted. *B, z, d, r,* are either entirely wanting or pronounced with difficulty in Chinese. 'Pigeon' English is in reality 'business' English, and is as simple as it is absurd. The chief point is to arrange the words as in Chinese. Wilson, in 'Prehistoric Man,' gives a letter to a Chinaman, and his answer thereto, which may be taken as an example of the jargon:—

Letter.—'*My chin-chin you, this one velly good flin belong mi; my wantchie you do plopel pigeon my flin come down side my howsie, talk mi so fashion mi kick up bobbery along you.*'

Answer.—'*Mi savey no casion makery flaid; can secure do plopel pigeon long you flin all same fashion long you.*'

European influence has in the same way corrupted the Hindústání language; and in the neighbourhood of Delhi especially the jargon is the medium of communication between the English officers and their uneducated servants. This debased language is called Moorish or Moors, and consists of various Indian dialects with a plentiful mixture of English.

§ 2. *Lingua Franca of South Europe.*

The Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean is, according to Malte Brun, a mixture of Catalan, Limousin, Sicilian, and

[1] *Journal of a Residence among the Negroes in the West Indies*, p. 64.

Arabic, with other roots, especially Turkish. It originated in the slave establishments of the Moors and Turks.

The Grand Turk was, with his confrères, the bugbear of mediæval Europe, threatening Christianity and impeding commerce. All who fell into his hands were enslaved, and seldom found release except in death. English, Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Italians, and Greeks were the principal sufferers, though, doubtless, vast numbers of other nationalities were ever to be seen at the galleys of Algiers and the Levant. With such a diverse European element it is not strange that the Turk or Moor did not learn the speech of his captives, even if he had overcome his religious scruples on that subject; nor was the Christian more willing to learn the language of his oppressors, or, if he did acquire it, he prudently kept his knowledge to himself. There was, however, in spite of the religious and prudential scruples, a necessity of communication between the master and the slave. Italian became the basis of this jargon, and other Mediterranean languages contributed words. Arabic and Turkish roots were also not unfrequent in the mixture. As is usual in such cases, grammar was ignored, and its place supplied by auxiliaries and determinatives. As all Europeans were until lately Franks in the eyes of the Mahommetans, the language or jargon thus compounded was known as *Lingua Franca*. In these days it is not employed to the same extent as formerly, but it is still a recognised medium of communication on all the Mahommetan shores of the Mediterranean. It has also supplied a long vocabulary to English slang.

There is only one essential point of difference between these jargons and usually recognised *languages* of the world. This point is permanence. If the jargons of Vancouver, Canton, or the Mediterranean become fixed, either by isolation or by writing, they will become languages, and will soon acquire some sort of a grammatical structure. Maltese, Hindústání, the Romance languages, Turkish, and English may be taken as examples more or less perfect of this growth of a jargon into a language.

Other languages, such as Teutonic and Scandinavian, are comparatively pure from foreign admixture; whilst a third class, such as modern Greek, may be regarded as practically pure.

§ 3. *Maltese.*

The Maltese language may be taken as an example of a jargon which by long isolation has become fixed, or, to speak correctly, as nearly fixed as an *unwritten* tongue can be; for there being no Maltese literature, there can be no standard authority to appeal to, except such examples as are given in philological treatises, which naturally vary in orthography according to the writer's own nationality.

Many philologists have claimed for Maltese a Punic origin, but none have succeeded in establishing their position; indeed, the whole tendency of modern research is to repudiate it altogether. Be this as it may, there is certainly a large amount of Arabic in its vocabulary. For the rest, it seems to be mostly Italian or Provençal.

Nothing is known of the earliest language spoken in the island. Malta fell into the hands of the Carthagenians, and was successively occupied by Greeks, Romans, and Goths. At length, in 870, it was taken by the Arabs, who, imitating all their predecessors, established their own language on the island, where it remained the sole speech until the Normans, in 1090, became masters, and tried to make Neo-Latin supreme. In this they failed, and after a time the resulting jargon passed into Maltese.

The Maltese geographical names betray the origin of the people; thus we have *aain* (fountain), *calle* (port), *casal* (village, It. *casa*, house), *kòla* (hill, Lat. *collis*), *gebel* (mountain), *ras* (cape), and *vied*, *wiet* (valley, Ar. *wâdi*, river).

The Arabic element is far from pure, but resembles in a marked degree the dialect of the Moors; thus:—

Eng.	Malt.	Mor.	Arab.
sun	*chemeh*	*shims*	*shams*
moon	*kaamur* / *kamar*	*gomera*	*kamar*

Eng.	Malt.	Mor.	Arab.
day	*nkhar*	*nahar*	*iaum*
earth	*art*	*erd*	*ardh*
water	*ilma*	*ma*	*ma*
fire	*nar*		*nar*
father	*missier* (Ital.) *bu, abu*		*abou*
mother	*om* *mamma*		*oumm*
eye	*haain* *hâin*	*aein*	*aïn*
head	*ras*	*ras*	*ras*
nose	*imaiekher*	*enf*	*anf*
mouth	*khale*	*fom*	*foum*
tongue	*ilsien*		*lisan*
tooth	*sinna*		*senn*
hand	*it*	*id*	*ied*
foot	*siek*	*resghil*	*ridjl*
one	*uikhet*	*uahed*	*ahad*
two	*tnei*	*adtenein*	*ithnan*
three	*tliéta*	*dteledta*	*thalathah*
four	*erba*	*arbah*	*arbaah*
five	*khamsa*	*khemsa*	*khamsah*
six	*sitta*	*seta*	*sittah*
seven	*seba*	*sebah*	*sabaah*
eight	*tmiegna*	*dtemania*	*themaniah*
nine	*disa*	*dtsesah*	*tisaah*
ten	*achra*	*ascher*	*aschraah*

This similarity of the Arabic element of Maltese to Moorish is often very apparent, as might be expected from the proximity of the island to Africa, which must naturally induce similar influences of change; and yet it is in some instances so much nearer the Arabic that we cannot regard it as a subdialect of Moorish, but rather as an independent dialect of Arabic itself.

The Romance element will just as naturally approximate towards the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean.

Although the island has been English since the wars of Napoleon, yet the English language has produced no appreciable change.

§ 4. *Hindústání.*

The Hindústání language may be taken as a good example of a jargon which has become a fixed language by a royal decree. It is spoken by the Mahommetan population of India, estimated at twenty-five million souls.

There have been two great streams of Mahommetan emigration into India, the first by land, the other by sea. The latter was direct from Arabia to the Nizam's dominions and to Mysore. The first, however, is the more important. The Moguls who conducted it were Uzbek Tartars from the north of Cabul. They first went into Persia, and on conquering it endeavoured to impose their language on it. Failing in this, perhaps for reasons similar to those which caused the failure of the Normans in a like attempt in England, they adopted one of the ancient Persian dialects—namely, that of Parsistan—which henceforth became known as *Zebán Deri*, or court language, to distinguish it from the *Zebán Parsi*, or the other uncultivated dialects of the country.

This people, in the reign of Mahomet (997–1028), conquered India, and, as we learn from Mír Amman, a native of Delhi, experienced some difficulty in communicating with their new subjects. A lingua franca was composed, consisting principally of corrupt Persian and Hindí, and this was known under the name of *Urdú Zebán*, or camp language, to distinguish it from the court language, but the poets called it *Rekhta*, or 'scattered,' on account of the variety of elements composing it. We call it Urdú or Hindústání.

In the year 1555 the Emperor Akbar definitely fixed the Urdú Zebán according to rule, whereupon it ceased to be a jargon.

Under the English, Hindústání, owing to the very general prevalence of Mahommetanism in India, has been adopted largely as the official means of communication with the natives.

Originating in a mixture of Persian conquerors professing an Arabic religion, with Hindoos, a people of Sanscritic

descent, the composition of the Hindústání language might almost be assumed.

The Sanscrit language, on which it is founded, exists in the North-West Provinces, side by side with it, under the name of Hindí, or Hindui, and from this it differs principally by its large mixture of Arabic and Persian roots.

Hindí contains many pure Sanscrit words, many more are only Sanscrit words deprived of their final vowel, and the remainder can generally be shown to be Sanscrit by permutation of certain letters according to almost invariable rules.

The Hindústání vocabulary, however, contains 50 per cent. of words introduced by the Mahommetans—namely, Arabic and Persian, 35 per cent. of Hindí, 15 per cent. of pure Sanscrit, and traces of English and Portuguese.

In the vocabulary attached to 'Eastwick's 'Hindústání Grammar,' by Small, on p. 5 (letter *a*) we find 18 words of Arabic origin, 10 of Persian, and 4 of Sanscrit; on p. 42 (letter *g*) the Persian words are 13, Arabic 0, Sanscrit 12, and Hindí 7; on p. 45 (letter *m*) the Arabic words are 29, the Sanscrit 1, the Persian and Hindí 0; on p. 51 (letters *n*, *w*) the Persian words are 6, the Arabic 13, Sanscrit 4, and Hindí 2; and on p. 53 (letters *h*, *y*) the Persian number 13, the Arabic 4, the Sanscrit 4, and the Hindí 3. These pages were chosen indiscriminately. Examination tends to show that the abstract Hindústání words are principally of Arabic and Persian origin. Thus on p. 5 of the same book we find—

ishtiyāk, desire, A.
āshnā, acquaintance, P.
aṣḥāb, lords, A.
aṣl, root, A.
iṭā'at, subjection, A.
aṭrāf, sides, A.
aṭfāl, infants, A.
iṭṭila', manifesting, A.
iẓhār, manifestation, A.
i'ānat, succour, A.
i'tibār, confidence, A.
ā'ẓa, members, A.
a'māl, actions, A.
āgẖāz, beginning, P.
agẖlab, superior, P.
āfat, calamity, A.
āftāb, sun, P.
afsos, sorrow, P.
iḳrār, confession, A.
aḳsām, sorts, A.
Akbar, Akbar, P.
akṣar, most, A.
akelā, alone, S.
ag, fire, S.
āgāh, informed, P.
agar, if, P.

afshānī, scattered, P.
aflāk, the heavens, A.
iḳbāl, prosperity, A.
agarchi, although, P.
aglā, prior, S.
āge, before, S.

Words of Arabic origin	.	.	. 18
„ Persian „	.	.	. 10
„ Sanscrit „	.	.	. 4
„ Hindí „	.	.	. 0
			32

If we now take a few common words and compare them we shall find that the affinities of Hindústání are Indian in the concrete words and in the numbers:—

English	Sanscrit	Hindí	Hindústání	Arabic	Persian
sun	soûrya	suraj	súraj, áftáb	shams	khourschid
moon	tchandra	chand	chánd, máhlab	kamar	mah
day	divasa, dina	roz	roz, din	iaum	rouz
earth	prithvi	zamin	zamín, bhúm	ardh	zémin
water	apa	pani	páni, jal, áb	ma	ab
fire	agni	ag	ág	nar	atesch
father	pitá, tata	bap	báp, pitá	abou	peder
mother	mata, amá	má	má	oumm	mader
eye	akchi, tchakchou	ankh	ánkh	aïn	tcheschm
head	sircha	sar	sir, sar	ras	ser
nose	nása	nak	nák	auf	biny
mouth	moukham	mukh	munh, mukh	foum	dehen
tongue	djihva	jibh	jíbh	lisan	zaban
tooth	danta	dant	dánt	senn	dendan
head	hasta	hath	háth	ied	dest
foot	pádr	pan	páṉw	ridjl	paï
one	éka	ek	ek	ahad	iek
two	dva	do	do	ithnan	dou
three	tri	tin	tín	thalathah	seh
four	chatur	chhar	chár	arbaah	tchehar
five	pánchan	panch	pánch	khamsah	pendj
six	shash	chah	chhah	sittah	schesch
seven	sáptan	sat	sát	sabaah	heft
eight	ashṭau	ath	áṭh	themaniah	hescht
nine	návan	nao	nau	tisaah	nouh
ten	dáṣan	das	das	aschraah	deh

The first point which strikes us in examining this table is the identity of Hindí and Hindústání in the concrete vocables; and when we remember that the *camp language* was only invented as a medium of communication with the peasants, whose vocabulary was probably very meagre, this, as well as the reason why abstract vocables should be foreign, is at once made clear. We next observe that the Hindí and Hindústání native roots are more nearly related to Sanscrit than Persian, and very slightly to Arabic. Hindústání grammar is principally of Hindí origin. It was easier for the Moguls to teach a peasant a new word than to teach him to decline or conjugate that word on a new plan; and thus, in spite of the vast proportion of foreign element, Hindústání still remains an Indian language, instead of gravitating towards either Arabia or Persia. In fact, the only important grammatical differences between Hindústání and its original form of Hindí are variations in the post positions and in the inflexions of verbs and pronouns.

Hindústání has 48 consonants, of which 13 are Sanscrit and 14 are Arabic.

The usual order of the genitive is 'man of shoe'=man's shoe, *mard ki jútí*; but this is often inverted, according to the Persian order, as shoe man of, *jútí mard ki*:—

	Hindústání order.	Persian order.
man's shoe	*mard kí jútí*	*jútí mard kí*
man's son	*mard ká beṭá*	*beṭá mard ká*
man's sons	*mard ke beṭe*	*beṭe mard ke*
from the man's son	*mard ke beṭe se*	*beṭe se mard ke*
in front of the man	*mard ke áge*	*áge mard ke*

These Persian forms are sometimes carried so far that the Persian genitive sign *i* is used, as *shakr i Baghdád*, the city of Bagdad; but after the vowels *á*, *ú*, *o* the sign is *e*, as *pá e taḳht*, foot of the throne; *rú e parí*, face of the fairy.

The Persian form *i* or *e* is also used to connect the adjective with its substantive when the order is inverted, as *zubán i shírín*, is tongue sweet; *rú e zebá*, a face beautiful. In the Hindústání order the adjective precedes.

There are, besides the above, certain other changes in

Hindústání grammar which can be traced to foreign influence; but, as in an essay of these limits the various points of so vast a subject cannot be exhausted, the above will be sufficient by way of illustration. Hindústání, therefore, is mixed in grammar.

It is curious, however, in the case of such a mixed lexicon as is presented by Hindústání, that English should have made so little progress in India; and the Roman letters, as modified in the missionary alphabet, are, in spite of their convenience, almost unknown.

There are, however, a few English terms which must not be forgotten, as *Jon Kampaní* [*John* Bull + East India *Company*], a sort of slang expression for the English government; *janerál*, *kort márshal*, *rijiment*, *kampaní*, *santrí*, *karñel-sahib*, *kaptán*, and other military terms.

§ 5. *Gypsy or Romanny.*

Scattered throughout Europe and a great portion of Asia is found an Indian people calling themselves by the name of *Roma*, husbands. The English call them *Gypsies*, i.e. Egyptians, and the Spanish know them under the same name, *Gitanos*. To the French they are *Bohémiens*, because they first entered civilised Europe through Bohemia. To the Germans, Russians, Hungarians, Italians, Turks, and Persians they are the Black Men of Zend or Ind, which is the signification of the terms *Zigeuner*, *Zigani*, *Chingany*, *Zingarry*, *Tchinganes*. Their language is properly called *Romanny*, and is most probably one of the popular Indian languages which were coeval with the Sanscrit. Be this as it may, there is near the mouth of the Indus a people known as Tchinganes. The Gypsy numerals are Indian, and also a very large number of roots. With the Indian numerals already given compare the following:—

	English Gyps.	Hungarian Gyps.	Spanish Gyps.
one	*yek*	*iek*	*yeque*
two	*dui*	*dui*	*dui*
three	*trin*	*trin*	*trin*
four	*stor*	*schtar*	*estar*

	English Gyps.	Hungarian Gyps.	Spanish Gyps.
five	*panj, pansch*	*pansch*	*pansche*
six	*sho*	*tschov*	*job, zoi*
seven	(lost)	*efta*	*hefta*
eight	(lost)	*ochto*	*otor*
nine	(lost)	*enija*	*esnia*
ten	*desh*	*dösch*	*deque*

In the dialect of the English Gypsy we find, among numerous other words cognate with Sanscrit, the following :— *aladge*, ashamed, Sans. *laj ; ana*, bring, Sans. *ani ; atraisch*, afraid, Sans. *tras ; ava*, yes, Sans. *eva ; bala*, hair, Sans. *bala ; bango*, left, Sans. *pangu ; bersh*, year, Sans. *varsha ; brishen*, rain, Sans. *vrish ; bucca*, liver, Sans. *bucca*, heart ; *cam*, to love, Sans. *Cama*, Cupid ; *chin*, to cut, Sans. *chun ; chukkal*, dog, Sans. *kukkura ; dand*, tooth, Sans. *danta ; dur*, far, Sans. *dur ; grommena*, thunder, Sans. *garjana ; guveno*, bull, Sans. *gavunya ; kaulo*, black, Sans. *kala ; kaun*, ear, Sans. *karna ; lang*, lame, Sans. *lang ; ma*, not, Sans. *má* ; and *mek*, to leave, with *moksh*. We also find *boro*, big, cognate with Hindúst. *bára ; bute*, much, Hindúst. *bahut ; choro*, poor, Hindúst. *shor ; nok*, nose, Hindúst. *nák* ; also *bosh* (now an English word), fiddle, cognate with Pers. *baz*, play ; *lollo*, red, Pers. *lal ; pedloer*, nuts, Pers. *peleel*. *Cam*, sun, is cognate with Heb. *khama* ; and *sorlo*, early, with Arab. *sohr*.

There is, therefore, every reason for believing that the Roma came from the East, from India ; and there is one remarkable fact in their language which will enable us to fix the date of the migration approximately. Although there are so many Persian words in Romanny, and so many Arabic words in Persian, yet there have been no Persian words of Arabic origin adopted into the Romanny. The Gypsy migration must have taken place, therefore, before the year 650. The Gypsies then wandered over all the countries between India and Bohemia. They must have dwelt a long time among the Slavonians, for their poetry has acquired the wild measure peculiar to Slavonic verse, and they have besides adopted a very large vocabulary, of which the following may be taken as a specimen :—

Gitano *bebee*, aunt, from Russian *baba*, old woman; *beriga*, Eng. Gyps. *werriga*, chain, from *veriga; bobes*, beans, from *boby; bosnansibla*, confidence, from *vos mojgnost; bur*, mountain, from *burgôr; clichi*, key, from *clootch; crallis*, king, from *kral; crejéte*, sins, from *graike; chin*, officer, from *chin*, rank; *dosta*, enough, from *dostaet; gudlee*, cry, from *gyl; olibias*, stockings, from *obubh; pita*, drink, from *pitié; placo*, tobacco, from *prak; plasarar*, to pay, from *platit; pluco*, strange, from *plok; pusea*, musket, from *puschea; sitno*, strong, from *sitnoy*; *smentini*, cream, from *smetána; tule*, below, from Sclav. *doly*; and *sueti*, people, from Lith. *swetes*.

Amongst the Turanians, either in Hungary or in some Asiatic region, they also learned many words, of which Eng. Gyps. *aley*, down, from Hung. *ala*, and *bokra*, sheep, from Hung. *birka*, may be taken as examples.

On the Lower Danube they picked up Wallachian and Roumelian-Romaic. Thus *ajaw*, so, is Wall. *asha; appoli*, again, is *apoi; boona*, good, is *boun* (*bonus*); *charos*, heaven, is *cher; chokni*, whip, is *chokni; drom*, road, is *drom; blani* (Gitano), waistcoat, is *blani*, fur; *kettany*, together, is *ketziba*, many; *latch*, to find, is *aphla*; and *mosco*, fly, is *mouskie* (*musca*). Again, *busnis*, pickles, is Romaic *βάσανον*; *chiros*, time, is *καιρος*; *kakkarakhi*, magpie, is *κορακαζ*; *skammen*, chair, is *σκαμνι*; *sollibari*, bridle, is *συλληβαρι*; *tickno*, child, is *τεκνον*; and *zoomi*, broth, soup, is *ζουμι*.

The Gypsies then passed into civilised Europe, and in each country they have lived as heathens and outcasts, associating with law-breakers everywhere, so that their language has not only taken up new words from the slang of all countries, but has also supplied such in return. St. Giles' Greek, Thieves' Latin, Pedler's French, flash language, Germania, Gerjo, Rothwelsch, and Argot are all more or less dependent on the Gypsy, so that the Roma themselves cannot draw a sharp line between that which is pure language and base jargon.

The real Gypsy language is, however, very scant, scarcely

containing more than 1,400 words; and thus it may, perhaps, be urged that it was absolutely necessary to supply its deficiencies with the plunder of other tongues.

In the Gypsy pronunciation there is also a remarkable Indian peculiarity, for, like most uneducated Hindoos, they can scarcely distinguish the liquids in speaking. The English and Spanish Gypsies are especially deficient in this respect.

Romanny grammar has been almost entirely destroyed in the contact with Europeans. Thus the English Gypsy makes feminine and masculine words to agree with one another indiscriminately, the first step towards the extinction of grammatical and towards the adoption of natural gender. Though he uses his own plurals, he already forms all his cases by means of English prepositions instead of Romanny inflexions; and in the conjugation of the verbs he as often uses the English as the correct system, saying *I del*, I give, instead of *delo; I del'd*, I gave, instead of *deliom*; and *if I had del'd*, if I had given, instead of *deliomis*.

Romanny is, therefore, mixed in vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. On this latter point we can now judge, as Dr. Paspati has recovered much of the original Romanny grammar from the tribes of Turkey in Asia, and from his labours it appears that the language of the Gypsies had formerly all that elaborate system of conjugation and declension by post position which is characteristic of the Indian tongues.

From the example of Romanny we learn that a language, however perfect in itself, if spoken by an uncultivated people, may degenerate into a jargon; for though the Gypsies do not stand alone in the wholesale adoption of foreign words, yet, as they have for the last three centuries only adopted refuse from every European capital, their language has been almost lost in the slang or debris which they have attracted towards themselves, and is rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

§ 6. *Persian.*

After the conquest of Persia in 641, by the Arabs, Mahometanism became the religion of the country, and as a necessary consequence of this change the Arabic language took the place of Parsí and the Koran drove out the Zend Avesta.

Shortly afterwards the Arabs gave orders for the destruction of every vestige of the ancient Persian language and literature, for it was hinted that many found the Persian tales pleasanter reading than the Koran, so that this book, the key of the Arabic religion and power, was threatened with total neglect. Parsí was thus lost as a literary language, and was only heard on the lips of the vulgar and uneducated. As a natural consequence it split up into many dialects. But there was a new Persian language springing up—that is to say, a Persian largely corrupted with Arabic. As orthodoxy in the matter of religion became, under the Arabs, the chief condition of existence, the Persians hastened to perfect themselves in the doctrines and language of the Koran. Persian thus became half Arabic, and has retained much of this character even to our own days. The number of vocables thus increased could not be expressed by the old Persian alphabet of twenty-two characters, and therefore nine others were introduced from the Arabic—showing that nearly one-third of the Persian sounds are of Arabic origin. Of the introduced words, some became so changed as to follow all the rules of Persian grammar; others were, however, only altered in a few letters, which presented difficulties of pronunciation.

Persian has the simplest grammar of the Oriental tongues, and in this respect has been compared to the English. It has no article, and has a natural gender. Its conjugation is very rich in tense forms and very poor in moods, possessing only an indicative, all others being expressed by particles. Compound tenses and the passive voice are formed by means of auxiliaries. Its syntax is rich and varied, and its vocabulary is especially rich in compound words, which are formed, as in German, by mere agglutination.

The principal Arabic points in the structure of Persian are the following :—

The Arabic alphabet is usually employed, but with additions to represent purely Persian sounds. The feminine is sometimes formed from the masculine by adding *a*, as in Arabic; thus, *mashuk*, friend, makes *mashuka*, amica. Arabic words may be declined either on the Persian or Arabic method, which cannot be regarded as a beauty, because it is confusing to those Persians who are not good Arabic scholars. In the construction of prose there are a few Arabic rules, but the entire system of versification has been borrowed from this language.

As a general rule most Arabic words in Persian end in *t*, as *nimet*, benefit.

§ 7. *Turkish.*

If a considerable amount of Arabic is necessary for the thorough understanding of Persian, a much greater knowledge of it, coupled with an equal acquaintance with Persian, is necessary to the Turkish scholar. In much of its grammar and vocabulary Persian is a double language, but Turkish is a treble language in all three points of grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation; and the Turkish of Constantinople is totally different from the Turkish of a country town either of Europe or Asia.

The Turks are a Tartar or Turanian family. The Osmanlí Turks took Gallipoli in 1355, and by 1453 had succeeded in destroying the Eastern Roman Empire. Their dialect was known as the Osmanlí, and at the time of their conversion to Mahometanism was entirely without cultivation, having neither literature nor science. Their new religion, however, brought a new language; for wherever the Koran has been introduced, Arabic, a Semitic language, has been introduced with it.

Arabic was for many years the most cultivated language of the East, and all the best works on mathematics, alchemy, astronomy, natural history, geography, history, law, rhetoric, and poetry were either written in it or translated into it.

To persons so intimately connected as the Turks were with the Arabs through their religion it became necessary that all who wished to excel in any profession, or in political life, should study Arabic, as Europeans resorted to Latin in the dark ages. But at this time Arabic, especially in questions of pure literature, was as intimately connected with Persian, an Iranian language. Thus it happened that the uneducated and the poor among the Turks continued to speak their own Osmanlí, whilst the educated and the powerful spoke Osmanlí, Arabic, or Persian, according to the subject under discussion. In this way the Turkish of Constantinople gradually became what it is now—a treble language containing three vocabularies, three grammars, and three pronunciations, all mixed together in a way more or less perfect or the reverse, as the speaker himself is perfect, or imperfect, in the two foreign languages of Arabic and Persian. It may well be supposed that the number of persons able to use the three languages correctly is much less now than it was when Turkey was a power in European politics; but this being the case, it results that, with the majority of Turks, the Osmanlí grammar is often used for combining Arabic and Persian.

The genuine Turkish is one of the most perfect examples of an agglutinative language. An abstract root being taken, particle after particle may be added to it until a whole sentence is expressed in one word. Thus *sevishdirilmemek* is all built, syllable by syllable, upon the root *sev*, the abstract verb to love; *sev* + *ish* + *dir* + *il* + *me* + *mek*, or love + one another + brought + be + not + to = not to be brought to love one another; and so on with almost any practicable number of syllables.

The same idea runs through the whole of the accidence, and thus the language appears much as if it had been produced in a cut and dried form by an Act of Parliament. It is the very perfection of an artificial language, though of course it has been formed in a natural way.

But the foreign element is as large in the grammar as in the vocabulary.

Of the 33 consonants, 28 are taken from Arabic, of which number 25 only are required for Turkish words, 4 are Persian, and 1 only is peculiar to Turkish.

In declension, except in an elevated style, words derived from Arabic and Persian may follow the general rule. Gender is natural, as in English, and masculines may be changed into feminines by prefixing a sex word; as, *er óglán*, male child; *kiz óglán*, female child; *erkek arslan*, he-lion; *deeshee arslan*, she-lion. In words derived from Persian the feminine is formed by adding *a*, as before mentioned, under that language. Arabic words, however, which are natural in gender, follow the multitudinous rules of Arabic grammar in forming the feminine. In the plural the Turkish words add *ler*; as, *at*, horse; *atler*, horses. Persian words follow the rules of Persian grammar, whilst the Arabic words introduce a dual number. In the declension of the Arabic adjectives there are numerous rules quite foreign to the Turkish grammar. The Turkish numerals are employed, but the Arabic are used in speaking of the Koran, whilst the Persian are by no means unfrequent.

Turkish pronouns are either independent words or postpositional particles; but a great many foreign pronouns are used in addition.

The Turkish verb is, as has been mentioned, of very curious formation; as, *sev*, love; *sever*, loving; *severim*, I am loving; *sevmek*, to love; *sevishmek*, to love one another; *sevishdirmek*, to cause to love one another. The Arabic verbs are conjugated according to the ponderous rules of their own grammar.

An adverb is formed by adding *ēlah* to the noun; as, *delēlegēlah*, foolishly; but words of Arabic origin add *an*; as, *suret*, appearance; *suretan*, apparently; while Persian words add *anēh*; as, *dost*, friend; *dostaneh*, friendly.

A large proportion of foreign prepositions are in use in Turkish, but these are mostly in connection with phrases borrowed from Arabic and Persian.

In Turkish there are few conjunctions, the construction of sentences rendering them almost unnecessary; but here,

again, a very large number have been adopted from the Arabic and Persian.

The rules for the derivation and composition of words are very numerous, and are equally borrowed from all three languages.

In the rules, however, for the construction of sentences the Arabic and Persian elements are subordinate to those of home growth, and this feature would at once mark the individuality of Turkish and distinguish it from the two auxiliary tongues for the purpose of classification.

From this hasty sketch it will be seen that it is no easy matter to acquire a perfect knowledge of Turkish; for, in order to speak, read, and write it with ease, elegance, and correctness, we must in reality learn three languages, each built on a different system of grammar, and each belonging to a different class of tongues. But few even of the most learned Turks command this full knowledge of their language (*Max Müller*).

§ 8. *Basque.*

One of the oldest languages in Europe, and certainly the oldest in the South-West, is the Basque, or Euskarian, which preceded the Celtic in the Peninsula and South-West France, and, if we may judge by the geographical names, especially those of rivers, in many other parts of Europe also. Basque is now spoken in several dialects on both sides of the Pyrenees. It is a polysynthetic language, and stands alone as such in Europe.

Its pronunciation is in general much softer than that of the Spanish, from which, or perhaps more correctly from the Goths, who formed the Spanish out of the popular Latin, it has adopted gutturals and aspirates. In Spanish the letter *z* is pronounced like a very soft *dh*; but the Basques, even in speaking Spanish, make scarcely any attempt at the sound. So far as is known Basque pronunciation is mixed.

Its vocabulary is also mixed. It has been subject to the influence of Latin, Gothic, Arabic, Spanish, and French, but its principal foreign elements are either Latin or Gothic.

Thus from Latin we have: *ezurra*, *azurra*, from *os* (bone), and the Basque termination *urra*; *airea*, from *aer*; *larrosa*, from *rosa*; *astiyo*, from *castigare*; *anima*, *arima*, from *anima*; *abetoa*, from *abies*; *arrapà*, from *arripere*; *amatu*, from *amare*; *altzatu*, *alchatu*, from *altus*; *angustia*, from *angustia*; *ansia*, *ansi*, from *anxius*; *arsa*, *artza*, *harthza*, from *ursus*; *arbola*, from *arbor*; *antzarra*, from *anser*; *bisica*, from *vesica*; *baba*, from *faba*; *bortcha*, from *fortis*; *baquea*, from *pax*; *biloa*, *illea*, *ulea*, from *pilus*; *boza*, from *vox*; *cobrea*, from *cuprum*; *cantatu*, from *cantare*; *calea*, from *callis*; *dembora*, from *tempus*; *eta*, from *et*; *estanna*, from *stannum*; *frutua*, from *fructus*; *banna*, from *balneum*; *borondatu*, from *voluntas*; *beira*, *vidrisa*, *beiratea*, from *vitreum*; *bochina*, from *bucca*; *cerua*, from *cœlum*; *erreguea*, from *rex*; *errequina*, from *regina*; *gauza*, from *causa*; *gaiztotu*, from *vastare*; *gendea*, from *gens*; *hondo*, from *fundus*; *irina*, from *farina*; *makila*, from *baculus*; and *senarra*, from *senior*.

Several of the above words are evidently through the Spanish. The letter *f* is almost entirely absent in Basque, becoming *b* or silent *h*, and in Spanish and Portuguese the same letter becomes *h* silent.

As the *f* remains in the other Romance tongues, it is to be concluded that the difference in the Peninsula is owing to the influence of Basque.

The principal Germanic words in Basque are: *aranoa*, from *arn*, *adler*; *autsa*, from *asche*; *ats*, from *athem*; *bantza*, *pantza*, from *wanz*; *panzen*; *cilhar*, from *silber*; *dantza*, from *tanzen*; *estratea*, from *strasse*; *errei*, *ar*, from *erde*; *espata*, from *spaten*; *garde*, from *guard*, *bewahren*; *jazcaya*, from *jacke*; *landa*, from *land*; *sendoa*, from *gesund*, &c. Many of these words will be recognised also as Teutonic roots in Spanish.

There is little or no Celtic element in Basque.

Basque grammar is complex, especially in declension and conjugation, having an extraordinary number of forms. Its syntax is, however, simple, and depends principally on arrangement of the words in a particular order. In these two

points Basque is so entirely different from other European grammars that it is, perhaps, free from mixture. De Larramendi, however, states that the Spanish language has been formed on the idiom of the Basque.

§ 9. *Celtic.*

The Celtic languages have for many centuries stood in the relation of subjected and almost forbidden tongues, under Latin, English, or French. Tongues in this position are more likely to become amalgamated with the speech of the conquerors than to become mixed themselves. Thus Welsh, Scotch, and Irish have given many words to English, but have adopted few from English; and Breton stands in the same position with regard to French. Scholars, owing to the general neglect of the Celtic tongues, are scarcely able to speak with any degree of certainty of the foreign roots in Celtic. There seems, however, to be a very considerable Latin element; and if it should prove to be so in reality, and not traceable to a common parent, as some philologists state, it will be a clear proof that the Celtic languages too are mixed. In Welsh we find *yspryd*, from *spiritus*; *ysgwyd*, from *scutum*; and *ysgol*, from *schola*;—in Gaelic, *airm*, from *arma*; *cusp*, from *cuspis*; *coir*, from *quiris*; *cis*, from *census*; *ceart*, from *certus*; *cill*, from *cella*; *cearcell*, from *circus*; *ceard*, from *cerdo*; *ceir*, from *cera*; *carcair*, from *carcer*; *cuileag*, from *culex*; *deisciobul* (Breton *diskipl*), from *discipulus*; *equill*, from *spolia*; *fail muineil*, from *monile*; *galia*, from *galea*; *luireach*, from *lorica*; *measg*, from *misceo*; *orfeag*, *orfeagach*, from *officium*; *peacach*, from *peccator*; *saighead*, from *sagitta*; *sagart*, from *sacerdos*; *tailm*, from *telum*; and some others.

In English we have many Celtic words, some of which we adopted directly from the Welsh, and others which we have obtained through the French, which derived them in its turn from the Bretons and Gauls.

§ 10. *Romance Languages generally.*

It will now be convenient to consider the very important group of languages known under the name of Romance, under which designation are included the various dialects of Italian, Provençal, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumansch, and Wallachian, all of which are evidently connected with the Latin, though, as will be seen, their peculiarities depend on an entirely different class of languages altogether.

Until lately it has been the fashion to speak of the various Romance languages simply as corrupt Latin, but this view does not sufficiently account for the many shades of difference in the languages themselves, nor for the presence in them of many words apparently of Latin origin, but not found in any of the authors.

In such a vast empire as the Roman it is evident that there must have been many dialects, and that the common people in those days would use unclassical words just as they do now. When, therefore, the Gothic barbarians broke up the Empire, they found the upper and educated classes speaking classical Latin; they found the Italians speaking Italic, or Tuscan, or Ligurian, or Calabrian; they found an uneducated soldiery speaking unknown tongues; and they found the people of the provinces speaking a mixture of Celtic, or Basque, or Belgic, with unclassical Latin. Whether the Latin the Goths heard was pure or not, it was a sealed language; but they, being comparatively few in number, found themselves, for the sake of convenience, obliged to learn it somehow or other. They learned in time a vocabulary more or less copious, and supplied its deficiencies by their own invention. Delicacies of construction were entirely lost upon them. The conquerors of the Cæsars could not be expected to sit down to the Latin grammar; but, on the other hand, they must be understood when they condescended to speak, and therefore crouching slaves and wily courtiers would applaud their mistakes as wit and perpetuate them by imitation.

Prepositions and auxiliary verbs were made to do the

work of inflection, and these changes at the end of words were discarded. Thus substantives were formed from the root of the accusative by dropping the inflection; e.g. we have *abbat*, *art*, *duc*, *elephant*, *infant*, *torrent*, *aquilon*, *capon*, *carbon*, &c., from *abbatem*, *artem*, *ducem*, *elephantem*, *infantem*, *torrentem*, *aquilonem*, *caponem*, *carbonem*, &c. *Activitat*, *facultat*, *sanctitat*, &c., from *activitatem*, *facultatem*, *sanctitatem*, &c., lost the sharp dental, and thus we get words on the model *activité*, *faculté*, *sanctité*, &c., in French, and *activity*, *faculty*, *sanctity*, &c., in English: hence the rule that Latin *-tas* gives Fr. *-té* and Eng. *-ty*. Of course, when the process of dropping inflections left an inconvenient combination of consonants at the end of the root, an *e*, for the sake of euphony, was added, and the consonants divided; thus *arbitrum* gives *arbitr*, *arbitre*; *exemplum* gives *exempl*, *exemple*; *lucrum* gives *lucr*, *lucre*, and so on; or, again, euphony might demand the entire suppression of a difficult combination, and hence we find *matrem*, *fratrem*, *patrem*, changed into *mère*, *frère*, *père*.

In the same way most Latin and Low Latin words became French, and afterwards English.

Mistakes in foreign languages are very often according to fixed rule. An Englishman speaking French will not make the same mistakes as a German would. Thus the Latin words would become Italian, or Spanish, or Portuguese, on a different principle. Hence, in the terminations of Latin nouns we should find the following rules: —That

Lat. -entia = *Eng.* { -ence / -ency } = *Fr.* -ence = *Ital.* -enza = *Span.* -encia = *Port.* -encia
[Example, roots prud- and clem-]

„ -tudo „ -tude = *Fr.* -tude = *Ital.* -tudine = *Span.* -dumbre = *Port.* -dão
[Example, root forti-]

and so on through every termination, which the various Teutonic nations that settled on the old Roman Empire would change to suit the habits or genius of their own language.

When the conquering nation learned the language of the conquered, besides those peculiarities of pronunciation and accent which mark the speaking of a foreign language, there

were other and more serious changes, or rather barbarisms, which soon developed themselves, and these were adopted and perpetuated by sycophants. Errors of this kind arise from depending too much on the national idiom. Thus the language spoken by the courts and armies of these conquering Teutons was no more that of Cicero than the French of a Cockney boarding-school is that of Paris. When a person's vocabulary is limited he is always strongly tempted to coin words. In this way the Ger. *mischen* would suggest such a verb as *misculare*, which would survive, as Fr. *se mêler de*, Span. *mezclar*, and It. *miscere*; Ger. *vorweisen* would be translated into *præsentare*, which would become Fr. *présenter*, Sp. *presentar*; Ger. *aus der hand* would suggest *manûs*, whence the Prov. *de manes*; also the opposite idea, *in der hand*, *manû tenens*, whence Prov. *de mantenen*, *mantenen*, It. *mantenente*, *immantenente*, and Fr. *maintenant*. The Ger. expression *von nun an* became *de hora mage*, in O. Fr. *dès ore mais*, whence *désormais*; Ger. *sich entfernen* would suggest *elongare*, hence Fr. *s'éloigner de*; Ger. *zukunft* would become, through *advenire*, the Fr. *l'avenir*; Ger. *unterhalten* was translated into *intertenere*, whence Fr. *entretenir*; from Ger. *so*, yes, indeed, arose the use of the Lat. *sic*, thus, in the sense of affirmation, in Prov. *sic*, It. Sp. Port. and Fr. *si*; Ger. *umstand* produced *circumstantia*, whence It. *circostanza*, Fr. *circonstance*, Sp. *circunstancia*; Ger. *friede* was changed into *fredum*, a fine paid for peace-breaking, which became O. Fr. *frait*, whence Fr. *frais*, *défrayer*; Ger. *zeberge* was translated into *a monte*, whence Fr. *à mont*, It. *a monte*, Prov. *amon*, also the opposite idea in Prov. *damon*, and provincial It. *da monte*; whilst Ger. *zetal* produced *a valle*, whence Fr. *à val*, and the verb *avaler*, Sp. *avalar*, It. *a valle*, with its opposite provincial It. *da valle*, and Prov. *aval*, with its opposite *daval*. Again, Ger. *vorstadt* was translated into *forisburgus*, which became O. Fr. *forbourg*, *forsbourg*, now *faubourg*, which words should be contrasted with the Eng. *sub*urbs, Sp. *sub*urbio, which perhaps recalls Ger. *unter*stadt, the lower town; the Ger. *gegend* would suggest *terra contrata*, whence Fr. *contrée*

and Eng. *country*; whilst *male aptus*, Prov. *malapte*, It. *malatio*, and Fr. *malade*, are formed on the model of the Ger. *unpass*.

In this way the Gothic conquerors would remodel all the more difficult parts of the Latin vocabulary, and thus would arise numerous words of which no Latin author had ever heard and which no Latin peasant had ever used.

But there would be a great number of words formed on the provincial and vulgar Latin which we know existed, not only in the provinces, but also in Rome itself; for example—

Vulgar Latin	Italian	Provençal	Spanish	Portuguese	French
adjutare	ajutare	ajutare	ayudar	ajudar	aider
batualia	battaglia	bataria	batalla	batalha	bataille
batuere	com-battere	battere	batir	batalhar	battre
basiare	baciare	baciare	besar	beijar	baiser
bucca	bocca	bocca	boca	boca	bouche
caballus	cavallo	cavallo	caballo	cavallo	cheval
catus	gatto	gatto	gato	gato	chat
curtem	corte	corte	corte	côrte	cour
duplare	doppio (adj.)		doblar	dobrar	doubler
directus	diritto	ritto	directo	direito	droit
exagium	saggio	saggio	ensaye	ensaio	essai
focus	fuoco	fuoco	fuego	fogo	feu
glutonem	ghiotto	ghiotto	gloton	glotão	glouton
jocus	giuoco		juego		jeu
laxare	lasciare	lasciare	dexar	deixar	laisser
minaciæ	minaccia	minaccia	amenaza	ameaça	menace
manducare	mangiare	mangiare			manger
septimana	settimana	settimana	semana	semana	semaine
tornare	[tornire]	[tornire]	tornar	[tornar]	tourner
viaticum	viaggio	viatge	viage	viagem	voyage
villa	[villa]	[villa]			ville

But there is a third class of words to which attention must be drawn. The Teutonic nations were still conquerors, in spite of their inability to learn good Latin, and as such they would of course think that they had the best right to fix the names of certain ideas, conditions, and implements. If there were some matters on which they could pride themselves more than others, these were their knowledge of war, those peculiarities of government, institution, and custom which were gradually developed into the feudal system, and also their own national food and implements. Practical men

as they were, they would not trouble themselves much with abstractions, and therefore it is only in the concrete nouns, though often the names of the commonest things, that we must look for Teutonic words in the Romance languages. The following may be taken as instances, the Teutonic words, unless otherwise stated, being German. As a general rule the Portuguese and the Provençal words are almost the same as the Spanish and the Italian respectively, and have therefore been mostly omitted:—

alansa = Fr. *alesne, alène*, Sp. *alesna*, It. *lesina.*

alod = L. Lat. *alodium*, Fr. *alleu, allodial*, Sp. *alodial*, Pr. *allodio.*

ambacht = Fr. *ambassadeur*, Sp. *embaxador*, It. *ambasciatore*, Pr. *ambaissada.*

anden, wanden, Eng. *wend* = Fr. *aner* (aller), Sp. *andar*, It. *andare.*

anke = Fr. *hanche*, Sp. *anca*, It. *anca.*

bären = Fr. *bière*, It. *bara.*

bald = Fr. *baud*, It. *baldo.*

balk = Sp. *palco*, It. *palco.*

ball = Fr. *balle*, Sp. *bala*, Port. *bola*, It. *balla.*

ballen = Sp. *baylar*, It. *ballare.*

band = Fr. *bande*, Sp. *banda*, It. *banda.*

bank = Fr. *banc*, Sp. *banco*, It. *banco.*

bann = L. Lat. *bannum*, Fr. *ban*, Sp. *bando*, It. *bando.*

bannen = Fr. *bannir*, It. *bandire.*

bansen, Eng. *paunch* = Fr. *panse*, Sp. *panza*, It. *pancia.*

barke = Fr. *barque*, Sp. *barco*, Port. *barca*, It. *barca.*

baro = Fr. *baron*, Sp. *baron*, Port. *barão*, It. *barone.*

bas = Fr. *bas, bâtard*, Sp. *baxo, bastardo*, It. *basso, bastardo.*

bat, bot = Fr. *bateau*, It. *batello.*

becher = Fr. *picher*, It. *bicchiere.*

becken = Fr. *bac, bachot, bassin*, Sp. *bacino*, Port. *bacia*, It. *bacino.*

bergen = Fr. *berger.*

bervrit, O.H.G., a watchtower; Eng. *belfry* = M. Lat. *berfredus*, O. Fr. *beffroi*, Fr. *belfroi.*

bier = Fr. *bière*, It. *birra*, Pr. *birro.*

binden = It. *benda, bendare.*

blank = Fr. *blanc*, Sp. *blanco*, It. *bianco.*

blatt = Fr. *bled*, It. *biada*, Pr. *biavo.*

blonde = Fr. *blond*, Sp. *blondo*, It. *biondo*.
bock = Fr. *bouc*.
bollwerk = Fr. *boulevard*, Sp. *baluarte*, It. *baluardo*.
bord = Fr. *bordel*, Sp. *burdel*, It. *bordello*, Pr. *borda*.
bossen = Fr. *bouter, pousser*, Sp. *botar*, It. *buttare*.
brechen = Fr. *brèche*, Sp. *brecha*, It. *breccia*.
brid, O.H.G. *brittel*, Eng. *bridle* = Fr. *bride*, Sp. *brida*, It. *brida*.
brust = ? Fr. *buste*, Sp. *busto*, It. *busto*.
bube, Eng. *babe* = It. *bambino*, Pr. *bambo*.
burg = Fr. *bourg*, Sp. *burgo*, It. *borgo*.
busch = Fr. *bois*, Sp. *bosque*, It. *bosco*.
but = Fr. *bout*.
butt, botte = It. *botte*.
butter = Fr. *beurre*, It. *butirro, butero*.

coc = Fr. *coc*.

dard = Fr. *dard*, Sp. *dardo*, It. *dardo*.
daube = Fr. *douve, adouver, adouber, radouber*, It. *adobbare*, Pr. *doga*.
degen = Sp. *daga*, It. *daga*.
docke, Eng. *dog* = Fr. *dogue*.
draut, drut, trut = Fr. *dru*, It. *drudo*, Pr. *drut*.
dümen, Eng. *tumble* = Fr. *tomber*, It. *tomare*, Pr. *tombolare*.

falte, Eng. *fold* = Sp. *falda*, It. *falda*.
faltstuhl, Eng. *falstool* = Fr. *fauteuil*, Sp. It. Pr. *faldistorio*.
faul, Eng. *fool* = Fr. *fol*, It. *folle*.
fehlen = Fr. *faillir, félon*, Sp. *fallar, fellon*, It. *fellone, fello*.
fein = Fr. *fin*, Sp. *fino*, It. *fino*.
fetz, pfetz = Fr. *pièce*, Sp. *pieza*, It. *pezzo, pezza*.
filz, felt = Fr. *feutre*, Sp. *fieltro*, It. *feltro*, Pr. *feltra*.
flask, flasche = Fr. *flasque, flacon*, Sp. *frasco*, It. *fiasco*, Pr. *fiacco*.
flitsch = Fr. *flèche*, Sp. *flecha*, It. *freccia*.
forst = Fr. *forêt*, Sp. *floresta*, It. *foresta*.
frank = Fr. *franc*, Sp. *franco*, It. *franco*.
freislich = Fr. *affreux, frisson*.
frisch = Fr. *frais*, Sp. *fresco*, It. *fresco*.
führen = Fr. *fourrier*, Sp. *forro*, It. *fodero*.
fülle = Fr. *foule*, It. *folla*, Pr. *follare*.

gairden, Goth., *gürten*; *gird*, Eng. = Fr. *guirlande*, Sp. *guirnalda*, It. *ghirlande*.
ganz = Pr. *gens, ge*.

gar, wahr = Fr. *guère, guères*, It. *guaro*, Pr. *gaire, guaire.*
garbe = Fr. *gerbe*, Pr. *garba.*
garten = Fr. *jardin*, Sp. *jardin*, It. *giardino.*
gartio, Frank = Fr. *garçon*, It. *garzone.*
gasse = It. *chiasso.*
geier = Fr. *gerfaut*, Sp. *girifalte*, It. *girfalco.*
gelb = O. Fr. *jaulne*, Fr. *jaune*, It. *giallo.*
gelinde = Sp. *lindo*, It. *lindo.*
gemse = Fr. *chamois*, Sp. *camozza*, It. *gamuza.*
glef = Fr. *glaive.*
glocke = Fr. *cloche.*
gram = O. Fr. *gram*, It. *gramo.*
greifan = Fr. *griffe*, It. *grifo.*
gridan, Goth. = Fr. *crier*, Sp. *gritar*, It. *gridare.*
gross = Fr. *gros*, Sp. *grueso*, It. *grosso.*

hacke = Fr. *hache*, Sp. *haz*, It. *azza*, Pr. *accia.*
häring = Fr. *hareng*, Sp. *arenza*, Port. *arengue*, It. *aringo*, Pr. *arene.*
halsberge = Fr. *hauberc*, *haubergeon*, It. *usbergo.*
halten = Fr. *halte*, Sp. *alto*, It. *alto.*
halten = It. *elsa.*
harnisch = Fr. *harnois*, Sp. *arnes*, It. *arnese*, Pr. *arnes.*
harpfe = Fr. *harpe*, Sp. *arpa*, It. *arpa.*
haspel = It. *aspo.*
heigro, O.H.G. (heron) = Fr. *aigre.*
helm = Fr. *heaume*, Sp. *helmo*, It. *elmo.*
helmbarte = Fr. *hallebarde*, Sp. *halabarda*, Port. *alabarda*, It. *alabarda.*
herberge = Fr. *auberge*, Sp. *albergue*, It. *albergo.*
herold = Fr. *héraut*, Sp. *heraldo*, Port. *arauto*, It. *araldo.*
hetzen, i.e. Frank *chetzen* = Fr. *chasser*, Sp. *cazar*, It. *cacciare.*
horten = Fr. *heurter*, It. *urtare.*
hosen = Fr. *houseaux*, *heuse*, It. *uosa.*

kant = Fr. *coin*, Sp. *canto*, It. *canto.*
kappe = Fr. *chape*, Sp. *capa*, It. *cappa.*
karr = Fr. *charr*, Sp. *carro*, It. *carro.*
kiesen, O.H.G. *kiusen* = Fr. *choisir.*
kneif, Eng. *knife* = Fr. *canif.*
kork = Sp. *corcho.*
krappen = L. Lat. *agrappa*, O. Fr. *agrape*, Fr. *agraffe*, Pr. *graffio.*
kupfer = Sp. *cobre.*

land = Fr. *landes*, It. *landa*.
lanzknecht = Fr. *lansquenet*, It. *lanzichenecce*.
lassen = Fr. *laisser*, Sp. *dexar*, It. *lasciare*.
last = Fr. *lest*, Sp. *lastre*, Pr. *lasto*.
hlauts, Goth., *loos* = Fr. *lot*, It. *lotto*.
lecken = Fr. *lécher*, It. *leccare*.

mahal = L. Lat. *mallum*, Fr. *malle*, Pr. *mala*.
marahscalt = L. Lat. *mariscallus*, Fr. *maréchal*, Sp. *mariscal*, Pr. *mariscalco*.
marke = Fr. *marche*, Sp. *marca*, It. *marca*.
mast = Fr. *mât*, Sp. *mastil*, It. *masto*.
matt, Eng. *mad* = It. *matto*.
maurthr, Goth., Eng. *murther* = Fr. *meurtre*.
metzen = Fr. *massacrer*, Sp. *malar*, It. *ammazzare*.
miltz = Sp. *melsa*, It. *milza*.
minne = Fr. *mignon*, *mignard*.
mischen = Fr. *mêler*, Sp. *mezclar*, It. *mischiare*.
musse = Fr. *amuser*, Pr. *muser*.

nord = Fr. *nord*, Sp. *norte*.

ost = Fr. *est*, Sp. *este*.

panzen = It. *panziera*.
perle = Fr. *perle*, Sp. *perla*, It. *perla*.
pfeiffer = Fr. *fifre*, Sp. *pifaro*, It. *piffero*, Pr. *pipa*.
picken = Fr. *piquer*, Sp. *picar*, It. *piccare*.
platz = Fr. *place*, Sp. *plaza*, It. *piazza*.
polster = Fr. *poltron*, Sp. *poltron*, It. *poltrire*, *poltrone*.
prisund, Goth. = Fr. *prisund*, Sp. *prision*, It. *prigione*.

rand = It. *randa*.
raspen = Fr. *râper*, Sp. *raspar*, It. *raspare*.
ratte = Fr. *rat*, *raton*, Sp. *raton*, It. *ratto*.
rauben = Fr. *rober*, *dérober*, Sp. *rubar*, It. *rubare*.
reich = Fr. *riche*, Sp. *rico*, It. *ricco*.
reichen = It. *recare*.
reihe = Sp. *raya*, It. *riga*.
reim = Sp. *rima*, It. *rima*.
ringen = Fr. *harangue*, Sp. *arenga*, Pr. *arengua*, It. *aringo*.
rocke = Fr. *roque*, Sp. *rucco*, It. *rocco*.
ross = Fr. *roussin*, Sp. *rocin*, It. *ronzino*, Pr. *ros*.
rost = O. Fr. *rostir*, It. *arrostire*.

säbel = Fr. *sabre*, Sp. *sable*, It. *sciabla*.
sall = Fr. *salle*, Sp. *sala*, It. *sala*.

schaar = O. Fr. *eschiere*, It. *schiera*.
schalck = It. *scalco*.
schaum = Fr. *écume*, It. *schiuma*.
schenkel, Eng. *shin* = It. *schinca*.
scherbe, O.H.G., a purse hung round a pilgrim's neck = O. Fr. *escherpe*, *escharpe*, Fr. *écharpe*, Eng. *scarf*.
scherz = It. *scherzo*.
schiessen = Fr. *esquisse*, It. *schizzo*.
schiff = Fr. *esquif*, Sp. *esquife*, It. *schifo*.
schirm = Fr. *escrimer*, Sp. *esgrimir*, It. *schermire*, *schermo*.
schlacht, *geschlacht* = It. *schiatta*.
schlecht = It. *schietto*.
schmach = It. *smacco*.
schmelzen = It. *smaltir*.
schnell = It. *snello*.
schooss = Fr. *écot*, Sp. *escote*, It. *scotto*.
siniscalt = L. Lat. *siniscallus*, Fr. *sénéchal*, Sp. *senescal*, Pr. *siniscalco*.
sinn = It. *senno*.
sitz = Fr. *siége*, Pr. *sedia*.
skepeno, O. Teut. = L. Lat. *scabinus*, Fr. *échevin*, Pr. *scabino*.
sonnis, *sunnis*, O. Teut. = Fr. *soin*, *besoin*, It. *bisogno*, Pr. *sogno*.
spähen = Fr. *épier*, Sp. *espiar*, It. *spiare*.
spann = It. *spanna*.
sperber = Fr. *épervier*, It. *sparviere*.
sporn = Fr. *éperon*, Sp. *espuela*, It. *sperone*.
sprützen = It. *spruzzare*.
stampfen = Fr. *étampe*, Sp. *estampar*, It. *stampare*.
stechen = Sp. *estacar*, It. *steccare*.
stiefel = It. *stivale*.
stiel = It. *stelo*.
stock = Sp. *estoque*, It. *stocco*.
strahl = It. *strale*.
stube = Fr. *étuve*, Sp. *estufa*, It. *stufa*.
stück = Sp. *estuque*, It. *stucco*.
stun, Eng. = O. Fr. *estonner*, Fr. *étonner*.
sturm = It. *stormo*.
süd = Fr. *sud*, Sp. *sud*.
suppe = Fr. *soupe*, Sp. *sopa*, It. *zuppa*, Pr. *sopa*.

tanzen = Fr. *danser*, Sp. *danzar*, It. *danzare*.
tasche = It. *tasca*.
taufen = Fr. *étouffer*, It. *tuffare*.

tekan, Goth.; *take*, Eng. = Fr. *toucher*, Sp. *tocar*, It. *toccare*.
tekan = Fr. *attacher*, Sp. *atacar*, It. *attacare*.
tödten = Fr. *tuer*, Pr. *tutare*.
tonne = Fr. *tonneau*, Sp. *tonel*, Pr. *tona*.
torf = Fr. *tourbe*, Sp. *turba*, It. *torba*.
treuga = Fr. *trève*, *intrigue*, Sp. *tregua*, It. *tregua*.
triggua, Goth., security, péace = O. Fr. *trive*.
trinken = Fr. *trinquer*, It. *trincare*.

wachen = Fr. *guet*, *guetter*, It. *guatare*.
wahren = Fr. *garder*, Sp. *guardar*, It. *guardare*.
wange = It. *guancia*.
wante = Fr. *gant*, Sp. *guante*, It. *guanto*.
warnen = Fr. *garnir*, *garnison*, Sp. *guarnicion*, *guarnacer*, It. *guarnire*, *guarnigione*.
weh = It. *guajo*.
weise = Fr. *guise*, Sp. *guisa*, It. *guisa*.
weissen = Fr. *avis*, *aviser*, Sp. *aviso*, It. *avviso*, *avvisare*.
weren = Fr. *garantir*, It. *guarentire*.
werra = Fr. *guerra*, Sp. *guerra*, It. *guerra*.
widerthun = Fr. *guerdon*, It. *guiderdone*.

zahn = It. *zanna*.

Some hundreds of others might be added.

But it was not alone the vocabulary of Latin that was changed, for the grammar also suffered.

The verbs were not so completely dismembered as might have been the case; but still their change was great. The terminations of the tenses, especially the present, in all the Romance tongues are more or less like the corresponding terminations in Latin, and to note their similarity it is only necessary to arrange them in parallel columns:—

Lat.	Span.	Port.	Ital.	Wallach.	Fr.
cant-o	-o	-o	-o	cántu	chante
-as	-as	-as	-i	cánţo	chantes
-at	-a	-a	-a	cánta	chante
-amus	-ámos	-ámos	-iamo	cántamu	chantons
-atis	-áis	-áis	-ate	cántaţi	chantez
-ant	-an	-ao	-ano	cánta	chantent

But such changes can scarcely be attributed to Teutonic influence, being rather the result of that tendency in all languages to simplify their terminations. This tendency is, however, strongest at the time of any great disruption, and the Teutons no doubt hastened this change. Coming suddenly into a strange tongue, they would feel very strongly the necessity of laying more stress on the root than on the termination; therefore the one was preserved, but the other was left to take care of itself.

In no known period of literature has the Latin verb been so perfect as the Greek; for in certain of its tenses in the passive voice it was forced to use the auxiliary. To distinguish these would be a new source of difficulty to the invaders, and they therefore cut the Gordian knot by conjugating *all* the passive voice with an auxiliary, just as they already did in their own speech.

Declension was affected much the same way as conjugation. It was found that, with one form for the singular and another for the plural, all the relations could be easily shown by means of prepositions, a change which had been already begun; for sometimes in Latin a case was distinguished by relationship to a verb, a noun, or an adjective, and sometimes the relationship had to be shown by a preposition. Here again the Teutons only hastened an inevitable result of the laws of mutation. Participles and adjectives were treated in the same way, as were also the adjective pronouns; but the personal pronouns, upon which depends so much correctness in the expression of individuality, escaped with much less damage and with scarcely any actual loss.

There does not, however, seem to be any Teutonic point in the purely grammatical formation of all the Romance languages. If the Teutons had been more civilised at the time of their conquest, the result might have been different, but as it was they changed the vocabulary and allowed their new subjects to change the grammar.

From the above it will be apparent that Teutonic influence, direct or indirect, completely remodelled the language of the Roman Empire; but it must be clearly understood that the

Latin on which they worked and the Latin which they formed were not recognised by the learned. These had set up Cicero, Horace, and Virgil as models, and in thus decreeing that no Latin was good except that of the Augustan age, they pronounced the death-warrant of their language. But the various dialects and vulgarisms which were scouted by the grammarians as barbarous, whilst conforming themselves to the new order of things, did what they could to Latinise the speech of the conquerors, and when that failed adopted the Teutonic words which had become indispensable.

Classical Latin was left to stagnate with half-educated priests, and ceased to be a spoken language, whilst the once despised dialects have risen to the rank of cultivated and literary tongues.

So far as we are able to judge, the most immediate effect observable on the forcible introduction of a Teutonic element into the Latin was the production of a jargon much of the same character as that now spoken at Fort Vancouver, or at Berbice, or at Canton, and this lingua franca would vary in the same proportion as the Latin or Teutonic element of which it is composed. Thus we have some 15 varieties of Italian, 10 varieties of Spanish and Portuguese, 17 of Provençal, 13 of French, 2 of Churwälsch, and 8 of Wallachian. Of course in these numerous dialects it is possible in very many cases to find words with almost every appreciable shade of difference between pure Latin on one side and pure Teutonic on the other.

It will now be necessary to glance at some of these Romance languages separately, in order to show how their individuality has arisen.

§ 11. *Spanish and Portuguese.*

First, with regard to the Spanish Peninsula.

The earliest inhabitants were Uskarians or Basques. These people are principally traceable in geographical names from St. Jean de Luz, in France, southwards. But their language is still spoken among the mountains, and has been

noticed above. They were first visited (900 to 200 B.C.) by the Phœnicians of Tyre, Sidon, and especially of Carthage. The Greeks followed, but their influence was small. Next came the Romans, who in 200 B.C. made it a province under the name of Hispania. The Romans brought classical and popular Latin, the latter especially; and by the reign of Augustus the Basque language had been all but superseded except in the mountains. The Romans brought many African legions to Spain, and doubtless these had some little influence on the Latin dialect. In 409 A.D. came the Alani, a Tartar family, with the Vandals, a Slavonian family, but both under German leaders, also the Suevi, or Burgundians. The influence of these people could, however, have been but small, for in 412 came the Visigoths and founded a kingdom, after which, in 429, they expelled the Alani and Vandals; and in 585 they succeeded in driving the Suevi into Portugal.

The Basque had long since taken its last refuge in the Pyrenean district and in Portugal. It seems to have exerted an influence, which is principally shown in abbreviation, on the popular Latin of those parts. The Gothic, mixing with the Biscayan Latin, formed the dialect known as Catalan, whilst Suevic, mixing with that of the West, formed Portuguese. The Gothic, mixing with the popular Latin, pure from Biscayan, formed the Castilian or classical Spanish, in which language the Gothic influence is clearly distinguishable in the pronunciation, for this alone of all the Neo-Latin tongues preserves the Teutonic guttural *g* before *e* or *i*; also in the change of *o* into *ue*, as in the German of *o* into *oe*: thus, Lat. *corpus*, *populus*; Sp. *cuerpo*, *pueblo*; Ger. *koerper*, *poebel*.

The peculiarity, however, of the dialects of the Peninsula is the presence of Arabic roots. In 713 Roderigo was overthrown at Xeres by the Arabian general Tarik (whose name survives in Gibraltar, the Mountain of Tarik), and by 755 an independent khalifat, under Abd-ur-Rahmán, was established. But from 778 the Christians began the war of retaliation, though it was not until 1492 that Granada, the last Arab state, was retaken. The extreme north of the

Peninsula had been Arabic but a short time; the south was possessed by the stranger for 700 years. The northern dialects have, therefore, very few Arabic words, but they are numerous in the south. In the literary dialects of Spain and Portugal no less than 2,000 words have been assigned to this language. Nor is this matter of wonder, as the Arabs were superior to the Christians in almost everything, for under their rule agriculture, manufactures, and commerce flourished; whilst their capital, Cordova, became celebrated throughout the world for its university, its library, and its science.

The following may be taken as examples of Arabic roots, in addition to some terms, such as algebra, Koran, and others common to Europe generally:—*Alfombra*, measles, from *homrah*, redness; *alforja*, a wallet, from *khurj*; *acemita*, bread made with bran, from *as-samîd*, the-white-bread; *azofar*, molten copper, from *as-sofr*, the-copper; *albarda*, a pack-saddle, from *al-barda'ah*, the-saddle; *albogue*, a pipe, from *al-bûk*, the-trumpet; *alcayde*, governor of a fort, from *al-kâdi*, the-judge; *rambla*, a sandy place, from *raml*, sand; *bellota*, acorn, from *ballût*, oak, acorn; *alferez* (also It. *alfiere*), an ensign, from *al-pheres*; *cafila*, a caravan, from *kafilah*; *cid* ('The Cid'), from *sayèd*, master, lord; *fulano*, such a one, from *fulân*; *guada*, a frequent geographical compound, from *wâdi*, river; *horro*, free, from *hurr*; *jarra*, a jar or pitcher, from *jarrah*, a waterpot; *naranja*, an orange, from *nâranj*; *taza*, a cup, from *tâs*; *tahona*, a horse-mill, from *tahhânat*; *matraca*, a wooden rattle, from *mitrakat*, a smith's hammer; *mascara*, a mask, from *maskharat*, a buffoon; and *xeque*, lord, from *sheikl*, an old man or chief.

In Portuguese we find *alfeloa*, molasses, from *halwah*, sweetness; *azafeme*, haste, uproar, from *zahmah*; *almofada*, pillow, from *mahallah*; *alfange*, a cymetar, from *khanjar*, a poniard; *alface*, lettuce, from *khass*, potherbs; *açougue*, shambles, from *assûk*, the-marketplace; *adarme*, $\frac{1}{8}$ ounce, from *ad-dirhem*, the-dirhem, a very small coin; *adibo*, a sort of fox, from *ad-dib*, the-wolf; *almogavares*, a veteran,

from *al-maghabbh*, the-dusty-one; *almotacel*, the market clerk, from *almusatrocin*; *adarza*, square buckler of small size covered with hide, from *adarraq*; *albafor*, the root of the water-lily, from *albackhûr*, the incense; *almofariz*, a mortar, from *al-mirhâs*, the-grindstone; *azeite*, oil, from *azzait*, the-olive; with very many more.

The strong Arabic guttural is also traceable in the Spanish, but by some process this has been changed by the Portuguese into a sibilant.

Before leaving the languages of the Peninsula we may notice that the Eng. *fly-boat* was adopted by the Spanish as *flibote*, *filibote*, and afterwards came back to us as *fillibuster*.

§ 12. *French.*

When the Romans took possession of Gaul (121 to 49 B.C.) they were the third strangers (if not the fourth) that had been there, for the aborigines (if not Basques) were Celts; and then came the Phocæans, who founded a Greek colony at Massilia about 600 B.C. The Romans introduced Latin, principally the popular dialects of the legions, which soon spread over the whole country, so much so that only about 200 roots of the original Celtic have survived until these days in French. In the year 407 the Vandals and Suevi, crossing the Rhine, passed through Gallia to Andalusia, and shortly after were followed by the Burgundi, who came from the Vistula and succeeded in establishing a kingdom on the Rhone from Avignon to Basle. In 416 came Athaufus the Visigoth and founded a kingdom at Thoulouse, extending from the Pyrenees to the Loire. Another invasion—this time of Franks under Chlodwig, or Clovis—soon followed, and about 429 a kingdom was established north of the Loire. The Franks became the leading race, with Paris for a capital.

The language of the Burgundi, uniting with the popular Latin of the south of France, has produced the Provençal dialects; that of the Visigoths, in a similar way, uniting with a popular Latin, in which was probably a large Basque

element, produced the Gascon dialects of the south-east; whilst that of the Franks, uniting with the popular Latin of the north, produced the French dialects.

In the year 842 we have already a specimen of French. It is an oath taken by King Louis the German to his brother and army. It is what we now call Old French; and though it contained more inflexions than modern French, yet it had fewer than the Latin. At this time the language was half-way between a synthetic and an analytic form.

Shortly after another Teutonic element was introduced by the Scandinavians, who settled in Normandy in the reign of Charles the Simple. To these people the French owe a great many naval terms and very many place-names, besides some expresssons peculiar to the Norman dialect.

Altogether there are about 500 Teutonic roots in French, specimens of which have already been given, but not a single Teutonic grammatical construction.

For some centuries after the Norman invasion the French languages were left to themselves and their poets, and the development was still further from Latin; but with the Neapolitan expedition of Charles VIII. in 1495 began a new series of changes in the French language. Henceforward foreign elements were freely introduced. The French conquered the Italian cities, and the conquered Italianised the French language. Louis XII. and Francis I. dazzled the French with their Italian expeditions. Henry II. married an Italian princess, Catherine de Medicis, who reigned supreme over three kings, her sons, promoted Italian gentlemen, writers, artists, charlatans, and poisoners to the highest places, and established an Italian court. We now have many Italian words, such as *alerte* (all' erta), *affidé* (affidato), *agio* (aggio), *brave* (bravo), *balcon* (balcone), *baldaquin* (baldacchino), *bilan* (bilancia), *banque* (banco), *carabine* (carabina), *courtisan* (cortigiano), *charlatan* (ciarlatano), *camériste* (camerista), *carrosse* (carrozza), *costume* (costume), *cadence* (cadenza), *cartouche* (cartuccio), *escadre* (scadia), *escorte* (scorta), *escale* (scala), *fantassin* (fantaccino), *gabion* (gabbione), *infanterie* (infanteria), and *parapet* (parapetto).

At the same time there was a clique which seriously attempted to Latinise the French language, a purist movement, in fact, somewhat like that we had in England; but this was, as in our own case, cured by its own excess, and the new words were forcibly driven out of the language without having effected any notable change.

On the accession of Henry IV. another movement took place. This king had suffered so much from the Italian queen that he cast out everything that could remind him of her, and began a Spanish movement. Of this time we have a few mementoes in the words *capitaine* (capitan), *camarade* (camerada), *case* (casa), *duègne* (duenna), *guitare* (guitara), *haquenée* (hacanea), *nègre* (negro).

Later on we get more Spanish words, *chocolade*, *esplanade*, *estrade*, *limonade*, and *salade*.

But all sudden changes are pernicious to the healthy growth of a language, and so the French found it. A violent remedy was resorted to, perhaps worse than the disease. In 1694 was published the Academy Dictionary by a society of purists, who set up their own taste against popular judgment. Fortunately for the French language the Academy has not been able to fix either the vocabulary or the grammar; but still it must be acknowledged that the restrictions imposed are unfavourable to a healthy growth, and literary men even now find themselves to a certain extent crippled by them. It is never good for a language to be too exclusive. Greek and Latin have committed self-slaughter by this very method, and no one can fail to be struck by the poverty of the modern French language. Mixture is a condition of existence in a language of modern times.

Accordingly, in spite of the restrictions of the Academy, French littérateurs, especially novelists and journalists, seem determined to remedy this defect of their language, and are beginning to adopt words for this purpose. They seem as partial to English as we are to French, and it is curious to notice that they even keep the English form of Romance words. No less than 700 of these foreign terms are said to be found in the language of fashion, of sport, and

of commerce. We may instance *accore*, *alligator*, *ballast*, *budget*, *bill*, *bol*, *bifteck*, *boxe*, *bouledogue*, *break*, *bosseman*, *boulingrin*, *billet*, *coke*, *cabine*, *cliver*, *cottage*, *convict*, *comité*, *club*, *chèque*, *comfort*, *châle*, *carrick*, *clown*, *croup*, *cabestan*, *cachalot*, *cambuse*, *coaltar*, *cutter*, *drainer*, *drawback*, *dogcart*, *dandy*, *dock*, *express*, *flint*, *festival*, *fashionable*, *flibustier*, *grog*, *gin*, *groom*, *humour*, *héler*, *interlope*, *jockey*, *jury*, *lias*, *lunch*, *lock*, *lof*, *lasting*, *malt*, *meeting*, *mess*, *pudding*, *pamphlet*, *punch*, *plaid*, *paquebot*, *poulie*, *rail*, *rosbif*, *rhum*, *redingote*, *raout*, *speech*, *spleen*, *spencer*, *sport*, *steeplechase*, *stalle*, *square*, *tender* (of a locomotive), *tunnel*, *toast*, *turf*, *tilbury*, *touriste*, *touage*, *wagon*, *warrant*, *whiste*, and *yacht*.

One cannot read over this list without being struck by the fact that the orthography of many of the words has been made to conform itself to the Gallic pronunciation of English; and the number of compromises between a genuine French and a genuine English sound thus rendered lasting by being reduced to writing cannot fail eventually to produce a mixture in the elementary sounds of the language.

§ 13. *Wallachian.*

Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Bukhovina were the ancient Dacia, which province was surrendered by the Romans to the Goths in 272, at which date, therefore, a Gothic element was introduced into the popular Latin before spoken. Many of the Roman families, however, emigrated to the other side of the Danube. In 489 the Slavs began their invasions. By 678 they had completely colonised Mœsia, and in 758 founded the province of Slavinia in Macedonia. A Slavonic element was thus introduced. Later on there also appears a Magyar element.

The language of Dacia was thus composed of a popular Latin largely altered by Gothic, and to a less degree by Slavonic and Magyar. The people themselves call their language Roumânia (Roman), and speak it in two principal dialects separated by the Danube. It is a settled tongue, but has been little cultivated.

There are three styles of Wallachian—a purist, or Latin, a young Roumanian, or French, and an old Roumanian, or conservative. Thus the purist would say *M'am obligarisset*; the young Roumanian, *M'am engaserisset*; and the old Roumanian, *M'am indatorit.*

The foundation of Wallachian is Latin, e.g. *appa*=aqua, *asteptare*=expectare, *boun*=bonus, *cappo*=caput, *copt*=coctus, *domno*=dominus, *doftor*=doctor, *epa*=equa, *fiul*=filius, *frate*=frater, *laptu*=lac, *massa*=mensa, *muma*=mater, *tato*=pater, *penzie*=pannus, *pept*=pectus, *venat*=venatio, and *verba*=verbum. There are, as will be seen, some curious consonantal changes; as, *ct* into *pt*, *ft*; *qua* into *pa*; *p* into *t*; *m* into *t*; and in the southern dialects, *p* into *k*; and *ct* into *p*: thus, *keptu*=pectus.

The present indicative has already been given for comparison with Latin; and in the same way it might be shown that the grammar is in general as much Romance as French, Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese.

There are some Slavonic elements in the Wallachian vocabulary; thus, *zmentenie*, cream, is Rus. *smetana*; *verigie*, bolt, is Rus. *veriga*, chain; *bob*, bean, is Rus. *boby*, &c.

The neighbouring Hungarians, or Magyars, stand in much the same relation to Austria as the Wallachians do to Turkey; and, as subjected races always gravitate together, it will be found that Magyar literature and thought has not been without its influence on Wallachia. Thus, Wall. *ponośo*, complaint, is Mag. *panasz*; *munke*, work, is *munka*; *porunke*, order, is *parancsolom*; *ozel*, steel, is *aczél*; *vindih*, host, is *vendeg*; and *chokni*, whip, is *czakany.*

Again a foreign element. The Wallachian Christians have often had to make common cause with the Greek against the Mahommetans, and by this intercourse many Romaic words have crept into Wallachian. Thus *drom*, a road, is δρόμος, and *zamie*, juice, is ζουμι.

Thunmann, in his 'Researches in the History of the Peoples of Eastern Europe,' sums up the Wallachian language as follows:—'Quite one-half of it is Latin;' and of the other half, 'three-eighths are Greek, two Gothic, Slavonian, and

Turkish, and the three remaining come from a language which has had much resemblance to the Albanian.' This latter would be the Skipetar.

Our general conclusion, then, with regard to the Romance languages is that they are not pure languages, but mixed, some of them very much so; and that, if they were not mixed, they would not be Romance languages, but dialects of popular Latin.

§ 14. *Teutonic Languages generally.*

Perhaps no group of modern languages has played so important a rôle as those known under the name of Teutonic. Of these there are two classes, the German and the Scandinavian. They are readily distinguishable by the latter having a post-positive article and a form for the passive voice, which are both entirely wanting in the former.

The Scandinavian group contains Danish and Swedish, with some few others, which are all different developments of the Old Norse, the nearest representative of which tongue is the Icelandic. Danish has developed on itself—that is, it differs from Old Norse by being less inflexional and more synthetic—whilst Swedish, in consequence of its long political connection with Germany, has imitated High German.

The principal members of the German group are the Anglo-Saxon and Dutch—both Low German languages—and literary or High German.

The English language, being almost as much Romance as Teutonic, must be reserved for separate consideration.

Dutch is very much mixed in vocabulary; for, owing to its long political connection with France, the French language has become the fashionable medium of communication at the Hague, so that even the very peasants ape French forms and phrases. Besides this, Dutch is spoken over such a limited area, and is so difficult in pronunciation, that merchants use it as little as possible in their business, whence it happens that the whole commercial vocabulary is at best a jargon of English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch. Thus

in Dutch we notice great numbers of commercial terms and other words which fashion has introduced in place of genuine Teutonic roots. Such are *gratuliren*, *failleeren*, *filtreeren*, *friseeren*, *galoppeeren*, *murmureeren*, *parfumeeren*, *salueeren*, *balein*, *balcon*, *faculteit*, *floret*, *flambouw*, *framboos*, *matadoor*, *paraplu*, *passagier*, and the commercial terms *akkord*, *commissionair*, *a. costi*, *pretentie*, *faillissement*, *montant*, *activa*, *passiva*, *deficit*, *proponeren*, *credit*, *rimessen*, *circulaire*, &c. &c.

In High German the same has taken place; fashion and commerce have introduced numerous foreign words into the vocabulary. Thus in one number of the 'Leipziger Anzeiger' we cull the following:—*Offeriren*, *comptoir*, *firma*, *franco*, *localität*, *eleganz*, *concurrenz*, *modenisiren*, *telegraphische depeschen*, *parade*, *direction*, *provinzial*, *tarif*, *journal*, *cabinet*, *publicistik*, *dividend*, *en gros*, *shirting*, *etablissement*, *sortiment*, *garderobe*, *lambrequin*, *preiscourant*, and *garçon logis*.

In the same way similar lists might be produced from Danish and Swedish.

All these terms, however, are so evidently foreign that no two opinions could exist on this point, but there are in the Teutonic languages words which have been so long introduced that many persons at first sight might not suspect them to be strangers. Thus:—

German	Dutch	Danish	Swedish	Latin, M. Latin, &c.
abentheuer	avontuur	eventyr	äwentyra	M. L. aventura, Fr. aventure
abricose	abrikoos	aprikos	aprikos	L. malum epiroticum, Fr. abricot
alaun	aluin	alun	alun	L. alumen
almosen	aalmoes	almise	almosor	G. ἐλεημοσύνη
anker	anker	anker	ankra	L. ancora
armbrust	armborst	arb-e-rst	armborst	L. arcabalista
arzt	arts			L. artista
brief	'open brief'	brev	bref	L. breve, Eng. 'lawyer's brief'
büchse	bus	b-e-sse		L. pyxis
bursch				M.L. bursarius
dinte, tinte				L. tincta
dom	domkerk	domkirke	domkyrka	L. domus Dei
epheu				L. apium

German	Dutch	Danish	Swedish	Latin, M. Latin, &c.
fackel	fakkel	fakkel	fackla	L. fax
falsch	valsch	falsk	falsk	L. falsus
fest	feest	fest	fest	L. festum
frucht	vrucht	frugt	frukt	L. fructus
kalk	kalk	kalk	kalk	L. calx
kamin			kammar	L. caminus, *compare* Gr. *κάειν, κάμινος*
kampf		kamp	kamp	L. campus
kaninchen	konijn	kanin	kanin	L. cuniculus
kelch	kelk	kalk	kalk	L. calix
keller	cel, kelder	celle, kjelder	källare	L. cella
kerze	kaars	kœrte		L. cera
kirche	kerk	kirke	kyrk	Gr. *κυριακόν*
kreuz	kruis	kors	kors	L. crux
kuirass	borst-harness, *but* kurassier	brysthar-nisk, *but* koraser		Fr. cuirasse, *from* cuir
kupfer	koper	kobber	kopper	L. cuprum
laic	leek	lœg	lekman	L. laicus
meister	meester	mester	mästare	L. magister
münster, kloster	klooster	kloster	kloster	L. monasterium, claustrum
münze	munt	mynt	mynta	L. moneta
orgel	orgel	orgel	orgel	L. organum
paar	paar	par	par	L. par
pacht	pacht			L. pactum
pappel	populier	poppel	poppel	L. populus
pfarrer				L. parochus
pfeil	pijl	pil	pil	L. pilum
pfeiler	pilaar	pille	pelare	L. pila
pfersich	persik	fersken	persika	L. persicum sc. malum
pfingst		pintse	pingst	L. pentecostum
pflanze	plant	planta	planta	L. planta
pforte	poort	port	port	L. porta
pfosten	post	post	post	L. postis
pfründe	[benefi-cie]	prœbende	prebende	M.L. prœbenda, beneficium
pfund	pond	pund	pund	L. pondus
pilger	pelgrim	pilegrim	pilgrim	L. peregrinus
predigen	preker, predikant	prœdike	predikan	L. prædicare
preis	prijs	pris	pris	L. pretium
priester	priester	prœst	prest	L. presbyter
probe		prove		L. probatio
procesz	proces	proces	procesz	L. processus
profosz, probst	provoost	provst	profosz	L. præpositus, Fr. prévôt
puls	pols		puls	L. pulsus
pult				L. pulpitum
pulver	poeyer	pulver	pulver	L. pulvis, Fr. poudre
regel	regel	regel	regel	L. regula
rettich (g)	radijs	rœddike	rädisa, rättika	L. radix

German	Dutch	Danish	Swedish	Latin, M. Latin, &c.
rund	rond	rund	rund	L. rotundus
sarg	sarcophaag			L. sarcophagus
schalmei	schalmei			L. calamus, Fr. chalumeau
schemel	voetschabel			L. scabellum
schüssel, O.H.G. scuszila	schotel			L. scutella
serviette	servet	serviet	servet	Fr. serviette
spaten	spade	spade	spade	L. spatola, Fr. épée, It. spada
spiegel	spiegel	spejl	spegel	L. speculum
staat	staat	stat	stat	L. status
tafel	tafel, tabel	tavle	[tabell]	L. tabula
thurm	toren	taarn	torn	L. turris
tulpe		tulipan	tulpan	Fr. tulipe
uhr	uur	[ur]	[ur]	L. hora
unze	ons	unse	uns	L. viola
veilchen			violblomma	L. uncia
vogt	voogd			L. advocatus
zelle	cell	celle	celle	L. cella
		paaske	påsk	L. paschus

*** The testimony of the languages chosen in the preceding pages for illustration is certainly in favour of the axiom proposed—namely, that a very large number, if not all, modern languages are more or less mixed in grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary; to which might be added the dogma that the more mixed they are the better adapted will they be to forward the well-being of mankind.

PART II.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 1. *The English Language is mixed.*

It is the peculiar beauty of the English language that it successfully unites the Teutonic elements of Northern Europe with the Neo-Latin of the South, and especially that its principal components are two such languages as Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French.

Celt, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman have contended for the mastery of our island. Not one of them came out of the contest unscathed, and each left a mark on the nation. It, however, took about twelve or thirteen centuries to effect an union of these diverse elements, and it is to this long struggle—often for very life—that English owes a vitality which leads it ever onward in an uninterrupted progression, whose best evidence is its constant extension of vocabulary, in order to comprehend within its dictionary means of expressing every idea which the human mind has ever been capable of conceiving; while to this vitality in its turn are owing the two richest and most varied literatures—those of England and America—which have been presented to the world by any modern nations.

When it is remembered that English is spoken by more than 150 millions, it will readily be perceived that to the energy of our language and the healthiness of our two literatures is due much of the well-being and happiness of the human race.

Thus the question, What is the philological position of the English language? becomes very important. Is it Teutonic or Romance? If Teutonic, is it High German, Low

German, or Norse? If Romance, is it a daughter or granddaughter of the Latin?

At first sight these questions might seem easy enough to answer. M. Thommerel found that of the 43,566 words given in Robertson and Webster 29,853 were either directly or indirectly of classical origin, while only 13,230 were to be divided among the various Teutonic tongues, and 566 were of Celtic and Oriental descent.

It must, however, be remembered that the omissions of dictionaries, which are unfortunately too many, are more likely to be on the side of the simple than of the difficult words, the Teutonic rather than the classical; and, therefore, that the number 13,230 should be considerably increased. But even after the most liberal allowances on this ground we shall, by accepting numerical evidence alone, discover the percentage to be vastly in favour of a Neo-Latin origin. This method of calculation must, in order to arrive at the truth, be still further modified by taking into consideration the testimony of our authors and of our conversation—that is, of current English as distinguished from that English which is almost petrified in the dictionary. We shall find in this examination that homely terms like *bear-baiting*, *pouched*, *thick-skinned*, and *headless* will be more readily current than such compounds as *cynarctomachy*, *marsupial*, *pachydermatous*, and *acephalous*: the first have been made coin of the realm, the others are like paper, which may be valuable or worthless according to circumstances. A numerical result must therefore rest firstly on the percentage of conversation judged by such books as have taken a lasting hold on the English nation—namely, the authorised Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and 'Robinson Crusoe'—and secondly on the percentage of our great authors. We should then get the following results:—The English Bible uses 97 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon to 3 per cent. of other words; Bunyan, 96 to 4; the Prayer Book, 95 to 5; De Foe, 94 to 6; Cowley and Swift, 89 to 11; Shakspere and Thomson, 85 to 15; Addison, 83 to 17; Milton and Spenser, 81 to 19; Locke, 80 to 20; Young, 79 to 21; Pope, 76 to 24;

Johnson, 75 to 25; Robertson, 68 to 32; Hume, 65 to 35; and Gibbon, 58 to 42.

Such are the numbers usually given, and the deduction drawn from them is that English is almost wholly Teutonic. But the conclusion thus drawn from short passages, which may, or may not, be selected with a purpose, is so very different from the evidence offered by the whole dictionary, that it is worth while asking if there is not some miscalculation on one side of the question. To be perfectly fair in these statements no word ought to be counted twice over in the same passage. This would reduce the Teutonic element considerably; for the preponderance is often more apparent than real from the constant repetition of such words as *of*, *the*, *a*, *an*, *in*, *on*, *upon*, *and*, *if*, *but*, *to*, *this*, *that*, &c.

There is one more important point to be considered before leaving this part of the subject—namely, the number of really useful words out of the 43,566 in the dictionary. Excluding scientific and technical terms, there are probably 20,000 words in the language. Of these some are employed only on the rarest occasions; in fact, most authors manage to express their ideas with from 5,000 to 6,000 words; Milton used 8,000, and our great national poet had a vocabulary of 15,000, standing alone and unapproachable in this as in everything else. What a contrast this to the vocabulary of a peasant, which seldom embraces more than 1,000 words!

Judging from the above numbers, from the percentages, and from the nature of the authors' works, we may safely conclude that Anglo-Saxon English is the language of the soul, whilst the language of reason is English of Norman growth.

The English language, therefore, is mixed. The nature of the mixture must now be considered.

§ 2. *The Anglo-Saxon Element.*

¶ 1.

The venerable Bede, in his History, tells us that three of the most powerful nations of Germany—the Jütes, the Saxons, and the Angles—invaded Britain. The Jütes settled in

Kent, Wight, and on the Hants coast, in which latter locality they were known as Jütes even to his own day. The Saxons, he says, came from Old Saxony, and settled in Essex, Sussex, and Wessex, whilst the Angles came from Anglia, which was in consequence even in his own day still bared of its population, and settled in East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria.

The Saxon Chronicle confirms Bede, but Alfred calls the Jütes Gottan; other writers call them Geats, whilst Asser expressly says they were Goths. The Jütland of those days was certainly not Danish, and all these names may be considered to be philologically one, best known to us as Goths.

Procopius, instead of Saxons, gives us Frisians, which was probably only another name for them; but, whether it be so or not, it is certain that the oldest forms of the Anglo-Saxon and the Frisian languages are either identical or essentially the same. Even in modern days something of this similarity lingers in the speech. Thus a Yorkshire man says—

'Gooid brëad, botter, an cheese,
Is gooid Yorkshire an gooid Freese;'

and in Friesland they say—

'Buwter, breat, en greene tzies
Is guth Inglisch en guth Fries.'

The Germanic nations, then, that settled in this country were the Jütes or Goths, the Angles, and the Saxons or Frisians. It is probable that the languages spoken by these three tribes were essentially the same. In fact, we are nowhere told that interpreters were necessary between them, from which we may reasonably conclude that there was at least no greater difference than at present exists between many of our country dialects. It may, however, be as well to remark that there are many technicalities in MSS. which are usually attributed to difference of race.

This Germanic language it has long been the custom to call Anglo-Saxon, and rightly so, for it differs as a language from modern English. The term Anglo-Saxon is here used to signify the oldest and most perfect known form of the

Teutonic element of our language before admixture. A more mixed form is called Anglo-Danish, whilst the third stage is mentioned as Old English. The next varieties are called Middle and Modern English.

¶ 2.

In commencing the study of Anglo-Saxon, an Englishman is at once struck with the fact that it differs from modern English principally in being an inflected language; and this one difficulty overcome, he will find no serious obstacle to his progress.

Now, in English nothing can be more simple than the gender of a noun, and the application of the rule is so certain that there are only three exceptions in the language, except by personification—*sun* and *moon*, which, in Sussex excepted, take the Latin and not the Teutonic gender, and all kinds of *ships*, which, even to a man-of-war, have in modern times been personified as feminines. But in our dialects the confusion of gender is often hopeless, especially in the Saxon districts. Thus in Wight they call 'everything *he* except a tom-cat, which is *she*,' and in Devon all lifeless things are *he*. These assigned genders have their origin in Anglo-Saxon, in which language gender, as in other Teutonic tongues, was determined partly by natural sex, partly by termination, and sometimes arbitrarily. Thus *dæg*, day; *beam*, tree; *beorh*, mountain; *cealc*, chalk; *clad*, cloth; *mond*, moon, were masculine: *tunge*, tongue; *stefn*, voice; *sunne*, sun; *bóc*, book; *burh*, borough, were feminine: and *hors*, horse; *folc*, folk; *wif*, wife (*das weib*); *cild*, child; and *hryther*, ox, were neuter. As a rule the genders in A.S. were much the same as those of the cognate words in other German languages, though of course there were important exceptions. The adoption of our modern natural gender instead of the A.S. grammatical gender was a result of the confusion caused by the introduction of a Romance element with a grammatical gender founded on an entirely different system.

¶ 3.

Substantives were inflected in A.S. according to two principal declensions—simple and complex, with variations, principally according to gender, in each. The number of model declensions—or rather model words declined—in grammars is usually from about nine to twelve, besides anomalous nouns, all of which, except in various mutilated forms, have been swept away. In Gothic we find a great number of plurals in *-s*; in A.S. they were few. In Latin *s* is an accusative, dative, and ablative plural sign, and perhaps from this prominence was adopted as the plural sign by the Goths of France in their broken French-Latin, from which, under the form of Norman-French, it passed into this country. Our regular plural in *-s* is therefore in reality an exception, whilst our exceptions may be shown to be mostly of home growth. Modern plurals in *-n* or *-en* are similar to A.S. plurals in *-an*. Of these we have still a goodly proportion left, especially in poetical and antiquated English, but they were once very common in O.E. and M.E., though all that we find cannot be traced to A.S. Thus, A.S. *eage, eagan*; O.E. and M.E. *eye, eyen, eyne*; Scot. and North. *een*: A.S. *cu, cý, cyan*; North. *kye, kyne*; E. *cow, cows* or *kine*: A.S. *sugu, swin*; E. *swine*: A.S. *brother, brothru*, but E. *brethren*: A.S. *oxa, oxan*; E. *ox, oxen*: A.S. *hós, hosa*, but M.E. *hose, hosen*: A.S. *fyrs, fyrsas*, but M.E. and Dors. *furze, furzen*: A.S. *sceo, sceon*; M.E. *shoo, shoon*; Lanc. *shoon*; York. *shooin*: Fr. *oncle*; M.E. *uncle, unclen*: A.S. *arewa, arewan*; M.E. *arwen*: A.S. *scir, sciran*; M.E. *shire, sheren*: A.S. *cyse, cysen*; West., especially Dors., *cheese, cheesen*: A.S. *dohter, dohtru*, but M.E. *doghter, doghtren*, daughter: A.S. *sweoster, sweostru* or *sweostran*; M.E. *suster, sustren*; Dut. *zuster, zusteren* or *zusters*: A.S. *hûs, hús*; West. *house, housen*. In Wickliffe we have *lamb, lambren*; in poetical English we have *welkin* without a singular from A.S. *wolcen, wolcenas*; and lastly we have West. *peas, peasen*. In glancing over this list it will be noticed that some words have in the middle stages of the language, and in the dialects, acquired

this plural. Among these the word *unclen*, instead of *oncles*, is especially noteworthy, as being a Romance word formed on a Teutonic model. We have since returned to the original Romance plural, *oncles* = uncles.

The plural in *-r* was especially a Teutonic form, though not particularly common in A.S. We find *cild, cildru; cealf, cealfru; brother, brothru; lam, lamru; egg eggru.* In O.H.G. we find it as *chalpir*, calves; *eigir*, eggs; *husir*, houses; *lempir*, lambs; *pletir*, blades (of grass). In Ger. there are about seventy nouns which form this plural, usually with a weakened vowel, as *geister, thäler*; but in O. Norse and its modern representatives the number of these nouns is very great, as *drottningar, geislar, tungur.* Now, in English we have only one, or at most two, of these forms; but these lingering plurals are so much the more valuable as evidences of Teutonic form because they are at present disguised as double plurals. In A.S. *cild* made *cildru*, in North. and in Hiber. *child* makes *childer*, whilst in Eng. we have *children* —that is, *child-er-en*—which is a double Teutonic plural. *Brethren*—that is, *broðru-en*—is another case in point.

Another favourite Teutonic plural is formed by a weakened vowel either alone or in conjunction with some other change; as, G. *thal, thäler; apfel, äpfel*; O.N. *bóndi, bœndr'; land, lönd*; A.S. *fót, fét; boc, bec*, and many others; but in Eng. we have only *men, mice, lice, teeth, feet*, and *geese*.

¶ 4.

Adjectives in modern E. have no declension, and never change except in degree. But in A.S. there were two forms, as in German, for the declension of adjectives, and these did not differ materially from those in other Teutonic tongues. But, as all these have been swept away, we can obtain no evidence from them of a Teutonic origin.

It is different, however, with the degrees of comparison. The comparative, both definite and indefinite, was formed by adding masc. *-ra*, fem. *-re*, neut. *-re*, to the positive, as from *scearp* we have masc. *scearpra*, fem. and neut. *scearpre*. The

O.H.G. form was *-iro*, as *altiro*, *betsiro*, *suatsiro* (=higher, better, sweeter); but the Go. form was *-iza*, as *alliza*, *batiza*, *sutiza*; but this form, and a corresponding superlative in *-z*, will be noticed further on.

The A.S. superlative definite added *-ost* or *-est*, and the indefinite, masc. *-osta*, *-esta*; fem. and neut. *-oste*, *-este*, to the positive.

After these additions the comparative and superlative were declined as before; but all these forms are lost even in the dialects, except the bald form of the nominative, as *wise*, *wiser*, *wisest*.

We shall find more Teutonic evidence in the irregular adjectives, for they were mostly irregular in A.S.; as, *old*; *older*, *elder*; *eldest*, *oldest*, from *eald*, *yldre*, *yldest*: *nigh*; *nearer*, *nigher*, *near*; *nearest*, *nighest*, *next*, from *neah*, *nyr*; *nearre*, *near*; *nyhst*, *nehst*, *next*: *far*, *farther*, *farthest*, from *feor*; *fyrre*, *fyr*; *fyrrest*: *fore*, *further*, *furthest*, from *forð*; *furðre*, *furðor*;——[1]: *fore*, *former*, *foremost*, from *fore*, *forme*;——[1]; *fyrmest*, *fyrst*: *good*, *better*, *best*, from *gód*; *bet*, *betre*; *betest*, *betst*: *bad*, *worse*, *worst*, from *yfel*; *wyrs*, *wyrse*; *wyrrest*, *wyrst* (of which forms more anon [2]): *much*, *mickle*; *more*; *most*, from *micel*;[3] *mare*, *ma*; *mæst*: *little*, *less*, *least*, from *lytel*, *lyt*; *læsse*, *læs*; *læst*: *late*; *later*, *latter*; *latest*, *last*, from *læt*, *late*; *lætre*, *lator*, *lætor*; *lætemest*: *upward*, *up*; *upper*, *uppermost*, *upmost*, from *ufeweard*, *up*; *ufere*, *ufor*; *yfemest*:——[1]; *after*; *aftermost*, from *æfter*; *æftre*; *æftermest*: *out*, *outward*; *outer*, *utter*; *outmost*, *uttermost*, *utmost*, from *ut*, *uteweard*; *utre*, *utor*; *ytemest*; and *mid*, *midward*;——[1]; *midst*, *midmost*, from *mid*, *middeweard*; ——[1]; *midmest*.

Eald is the original of several provincialisms. *Eld* is poetically used for old age; in Cumb. a chief is called an *elderly man*, and in North. generally an *elderly man* and woman are equivalent to step- or grand-parents. *Better* and *best* are derived from the verb *to beat* in its colloquial and provincial signification of *to surpass*. *Worse* and *worst* are

[1] Wanting. [2] See Gothic (under Part II. § 3, p. 66).
[3] O.S. *milkulum*.

formed on a different Teutonic model, the Gothic, and are derived from the verb *to wear*. *Mickle* is now archaic except in North. and Scot. *muckel, muchel, forasmekell*. It is a diminutive of *mow*, a heap, which word existed as *moe* for the positive degree until Elizabeth's reign. Etymologists find the Eng. *much* in the Span. *mucho*, and the O.N. *mjög* is the same word as the Span. *muy*. The Goths conveyed these words to the Peninsula. *Less* and *least* are derived from the verb *to lose*. The A.S. *eaðe*, easy; *eaðre, eaðost*; and *siðe*, since; *siðre, siðost; siðemest*, are both retained in the North. dialects.

In English we have another form of comparison for adjectives in *more* and *most*, of which it will be seen that Anglo-Saxon offers us very little if any evidence. This is a Romance form.

¶ 5.

The A.S. personal pronouns were fully declined, in the first and second persons, with the addition of a dual number, which was in use down to the reign of Edward I. *Ic* was preserved until the last century in the dialects, especially in Kent, Sus., Oxf., and Som. Its pronunciation was, perhaps, softer than G. *ich*, and in the Som. forms of *uchy, etchy*, we may have a relic of this; and in the W. Sax. *cham, chave, chall*, and *chill*, where the vowel is dropped and the consonant prefixed to the verb, if the pronunciation of *ic* had been *ik*, we should probably have had the harder forms of *kam, kave, kall*, and *kill*. Our modern form *I* first appears as *Ih* in the Rushworth Gospels, and is, perhaps, the result of a partial assimilation of the Old French *Jeo*.

The North preserved the A.S. *þu* as *thoo* or *tha*, especially in Lanc. and Ches. The exact pronunciation of the A.S. *heo* is still preserved in Lanc. and Ches. *hoo*, she. The E. *she* is the A.S. *seo*, feminine def. art., pronounced *soo* by the A.S., and *soo* or *shoo* by the people of Lanc. and Ches. The neuter pronoun *hit* has lost its aspirate, perhaps because the English, since the Norman conquest, have acquired a looseness in the pronunciation of rough breathings which is thoroughly French. The plural third personal pronoun has

been lost in Eng., and the plural of the definite article has taken its place; but a remnant of it is preserved in the dialectic *'em* or *'um*, usually regarded as a contraction of *them*, but which in reality is A.S. *him*, *heom*, without the aspirate, which omission may be regarded as due to French influence on our pronunciation, for otherwise it is not easy to account for this weakness in aspirates which the English evince.

Except in a few peculiar expressions, as in Mark viii. 4, we have entirely lost the A.S. indefinite personal pronoun *man*, O.E. *mon* (Ger. *man*), and have adopted the French *one*, from *on*, a contraction of *homo*.

Our pronouns, then, with one exception, are Teutonic in origin, but in pronunciation (and it will be shown further on in arrangement also) there are evidences of a Romance influence.

¶ 6.

The defining words and relatives were all fully declined, but in Eng. we have very few of the forms left.

In W. Sax. we find two very curious demonstratives, *thic* and *thec*, or *thickey* and *theckey*; in Som. *thickemmy*; in Wight *thec*; in Wilts *thac*, with a plural *themmy* or *themin*. In O.E. the form was *thilk*, which is the M. Goth. *þéleiks*, Norse *þvilikr*. In Heref. *these* is used as a singular, and must be regarded as a retention of A.S. *þes*. Instead of *these* and *those* many dialects use *they* and *them*, which must be regarded as the A.S. *þa*, *þam*, of the demonstrative plural. Scotch retains A.S. *ylca* in the expressions *the ilk*, *that ilk*.

The Yorkshire pronunciation of *what* is very nearly the A.S. *hwæt*.

Our defining words are, then, Teutonic in their origin, so also the relatives.

¶ 7.

The verb contains some of the most remarkable antiquities of the English language, the full consideration of which would require the whole space at command.

The strong verbs, as also the mixed, are entirely of Teutonic origin, and the weak verbs are, some Teutonic, others foreign, in root. The verbal terminations are also Teutonic, but the old form in *-eth*, as *loveth*, has in later times become all but obsolete, and a sibilant substituted, as *loves*. This change took place as early as the eleventh century, and is most probably a softening of the difficult sound of *-th* on the tongues of our Norman conquerors, and therefore is evidence of mixture in pronunciation. In the verbal group we find an immense number of mongrel words, and consequently the amount of mixture in this part of our language is very great indeed.

¶ 8.

We have now glanced at the Anglo-Saxon grammar, and have found that much of it is still traceable in English, and more still in the dialects. Many parts would have well repaid a fuller investigation, had the limits of this essay permitted it.

If, however, the only change in A.S. had been to sweep away inflections, the mother-tongue of the present English would not be a sealed language to most Englishmen. Other changes have taken place; words are pronounced differently now, and are consequently spelled differently; and this change has been going on so long and so unevenly that spelling and pronunciation often throw no light one on the other. There is every reason to believe that A.S. was phonetically represented by its alphabet, or at least as much so as German is now. As time advanced, owing to the natural change of language, it would become less so; but the sudden introduction of French, which contains many un-Teutonic sounds, would cause a disruption between the spelling and the sound of the language. If the old spelling were retained the language would cease to be phonetically represented. There was a feeling that the new pronunciation required a new system of spelling; but, in the absence of any fixed authority on these matters, every writer chose his own standard, and hence for some centuries English spelling

became extremely uncertain. In the modern literary period the system adopted by the East Mercian writers has, with many important exceptions, prevailed; therefore, in spite of these centuries of uncertainty, there are a few broad principles by which many English words may be shown to be pure Anglo-Saxon. Thus—

1. A.S. *á* = E. *ō*: *sár, sore; tá, toe; máre, more; hláf, loaf, bán, bone.* The old pronunciation is retained in Scot. *bane, mair, sare.*

2. A.S. *eá* = E. *ē*: *streám, stream* [strēm]; *sceáp, sheep.*

3. A.S. *ea* = E. *ă, ō*: *scearp, sharp; eax, axe; eall, all; steare, stark; weax, wax; eald, old; ceald, cold.*

4. A.S. *æ* = E. *a, e*: *gæst, guest; fæst, fast; hwæl, whale; cræft, craft.*

5. A.S. *ǽ* = E. *ē, ā, ō*: *sǽd, seed; hǽr, hair; mǽst, most*; compare Scot. *maist.*

6. A.S. *é* = E. *ē, ee*: *céne, keen; wénan, to ween.*

7. A.S. *í* = E. *ī*: *síd, side; wíf, wife; wíld, wild.*

8. A.S. *eó, eów* = E. *ē*; *déop, deep; cneów, knee.* When final these lose *o*, and *ow*; as, *cneów, knee; treów, tree; streów, straw; hleo, lee; gearo, yare,* The A.S. pronunciation of *eó* is retained in Lanc. and Ches. A.S. *seo* = Lanc. Ches. *soo*; A.S. *heo* = Lanc. and Ches. *hoo.*

9. A.S. *ú* = E. *ou, ow, oo*: *cú, cow; mús, mouse; rúm, room.*

10. A.S. *ý* = E. *ī, ē*: *hýran, heár; fýr, fire.*

11. A.S. *g* before or after *æ, e, i, y*, had a soft sound, almost like *y* initial, and it has therefore become E. *y* or has been omitted: *gear, year; gyldan, yield; eage, eye; ge, yea; geong, young; gæse, yes; cæg, key; nigon, nine; twentig, twenty; gyf, if.*

12. A.S. *c* was always hard, but in some words it has either been softened into E. *ch* or omitted: *cyle, chill; cyld, child; scip, ship; cicen, chicken; ceorl, churl.*

13. The hard sound of *c* is retained in *coc, cock; cnéow, knee; macian, make; boc, book; dic, dike; cú, cow.*

14. A.S. *cw* = E. *qu*: *cwen, queen; cwyð, quoth; cwacian, quake; cwic, quick,* hence Lanc. and Ches. *wick.*

15. A.S. *cc* = E. *tch*, *ck*: *liccian*, *lick*; *streccan*, *stretch*.

16. The A.S. aspirated liquids *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, lose the rough breathings through the softening influence of the French; as, *hleapan*, *leap*; *hlæst*, *last*; *hreoh*, *rough*; *hring*, *ring*; *hnut*, *nut*; *hnoppa*, *gnap*.

17. A.S. *hw* strongly aspirated = E. *wh* less strongly aspirated; but all English-speaking Celts retain the old and more correct pronunciation: *hwæl*, *whale*; *hwil*, *while*.

18. A.S. *líc*, *lice*, a contraction of *gelic*, *like* = E. *ly*: *grislic*, *grisly*; *cyríclic*, *church-like*; *glædly*, *gladly*.

19. A.S. *f*, often = E. *v*: *wif* makes *wives*; *hláfas*, *loaves*; *leaf*, *leaves*; *draf*, *drove*; *ic lufige*, *I love*.

20. Cumbersome words in A.S. are generally shortened: *hlaford*, *hlafweardige*, *lord*, *lady*; *scirgerefa*, *sheriff*; *sweoster*, *sister*; *ælmesse* (ἐλεημοσύνη), *alms*.

The above lists might readily be extended so as to embrace a large proportion of the words in the English language, and after that an equally lengthy list might be prepared of words now existing in our dialects which are pure Anglo-Saxon. Enough, however, have been given to prove that there is a considerable Anglo-Saxon element in the English vocabulary.

The pronunciation of Anglo-Saxon, so far as we can judge, much resembled in character that of the German, or any other Teutonic language. Much of this has been retained in the dialects of the North and of Scotland, as *bane*, *hoo*, *hwich*, *ax*, instead of *bone*, *she*, *which*, *ask*. It has already been several times mentioned that the introduction of French softened the English so much that an Englishman notices as readily as anyone else the hard pronunciation of German or Dutch, which are certainly not worse than his own Anglo-Saxon was in this respect. The vowel *oi* did not exist in A.S., but was common in French, and has through this influence been adopted into many of our Teutonic roots; *qu*, instead of A.S. *cw*, is also of French origin; also the soft sound of *c*, and many other peculiarities, especially our extraordinary vowel pronunciations—but

these will be noticed further on in the chapter on the Pronunciation of English.

§ 3. *Other Germanic Elements.*

There are many interesting points in the Germanic section of the English language which cannot be satisfactorily explained by a simple reference to Anglo-Saxon. Much light may, however, be thrown upon them by a comparison with the Gothic, High German, Alemannic, Low German, Old Saxon, Frisic, and Dutch. In very few cases, however, can it be said that these forms are *derived* from these other Germanic tongues, for we are not to suppose that every Anglo-Saxon root found its way into literature and thence into our dictionaries, but we may reasonably suppose that many English words have been derived from something in Anglo-Saxon which is now lost.

The oldest forms of English words are to be found in the Gothic translation of the Bible, written in 365 A.D. by Bishop Ulphilas. This book accompanied the Goths when they overran France, Italy, and Spain; but amidst the general confusion all copies were lost sight of or destroyed. A portion was discovered in the sixteenth century, and another in 1818. This Teutonic speech explains several portions of the English grammar, and is therefore especially useful in illustrating the irregularities of A.S. From a comparison of A.S. and Mæso-Gothic we find that these irregularities were Teutonic and not foreign; and we learn that the A.S., as written in the heathen times, was a perfectly pure and unmixed tongue.

The principal M. Gothic forms are: 1. The comparative and superlative in *s*; as, *bad, worse, worst*; A.S. *yfel, wyrse, wyrst*; M.G. *ubils, vairsiza, vairsists,* which, though a scarce form in Anglo-Saxon, was common in M. Gothic. 2. *Which* and *such* are proved to be *who-like, so-like*; M.G. *hveleiks, svaleiks*; and in the same way the earliest forms of many words may be thus seen in Gothic, analysed in such a form that their exact meaning and relations are at once

known. 3. The irregularities of the second pers. sing. pres. indic.—as *art, wilt, shalt, wast*, instead of *arrest, wilst, shalst, wasest*, according to the usual rule—are shown to be M.G., as *skalt*, A.S. *scealt*. 4. The word *did* is shown to be a reduplicative preterite by the Gothic. In Latin we find such forms as *disco, didici*; in Greek, λύω, λέλυκα; and in Goth. *téka*, I touch, *táitók*, with many others; but the only one *we* have left is *do, did*, unless *hight* (called, was called), A.S. *heht*, Go. *háiháit*, I have called, be taken to be another. 5. The numbers *eleven* and *twelve*, which are irregularities in our notation, are explained by Gothic to be *ain-lif, twa-lif*, i.e. one-left, two-left, when we have counted up to ten on the fingers. 6. A few words are said to be derived from Gothic, though it must be acknowledged that these are in many cases doubtful. Those which are usually instanced are *bilk*, from *bilaikan; bludgeon*, from *blyggwan; dab*, from *daupjan; dock*, from *dok; drizzle*, from *driusan; maim*, from *maitan; waits*, from *wahts; timmer* (North. = *timber*), from *timr*, A.S. *timber*, and some others.

From O.H.G. we get our word *clock*, as applied to a cockroach, as Var. Dial. *twitch clock*, Linc. *buzzard clock*. From German we are said to get many words, but the relationship may be rather that of cousinhood than descent. In the same way many words are given as Dutch, but here again the relationship may be sisterhood. Technical terms of more modern introduction are of course excepted in both cases. All our sea terms are almost pure Dutch, and many terms in the cloth, wool, paper, and other trades are either Dutch, Flemish, or German.

Frisian can, however, not be passed over so lightly. It is not a cultivated language, and possesses few literary remains except old laws. It is very probable that we shall, when Frisian has been more studied in this country, find that many of our provincialisms depart from the Anglo-Saxon towards this language, especially in East Anglia, where Frisians seem to have mixed much with the North and the South Folk. The E. Ang. *o* instead of E. *a*, as *lond, mon, hond* (O. Fris. *lond, mon, hond*, A.S. *land, man,*

hand), is one of these peculiarities. The E. *harvest*, *hark*, *halt* (lame), *half*, *song*, *then*, *there*, *freedom*, which are found in both languages, are nearer the O. Fris. in form than the A.S.; and there are many words in the dialects of which the same might be said. Again, the sign of the infinitive, *to*, is Fris. also; and in O. Eng., as in O. Fris., the same sign was used as an intensitive to a verb, *breken* not being so strong as *to-breken*, just as in Ger. *brechen* and *zerbrechen*.

There is, therefore, a very important, if not a very numerous, class of words whose nearest relatives must be sought among the Continental Germanic languages rather than in the A.S.

Thus the Germanic element in English is mixed.

§ 4. *The Norse Element.*

Under the year 787 of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is the following entry:—

'787. *Her nom Beorhtric cyning Offan dohter Eadburhge to wive. And on his dægum cwomenærest 3 scipu Northmanna of Haeretha-lande. And þa se gerefa þaerto rad and hie wolde drifan to þæs cyninges tune þy he nyste hwæt hie wæron, and mon þaer ofslog. Þæt wæron þa ærstan scipu Denisera monna þe Engelcynnes lond gesohton.*'

The people who thus so unceremoniously made their appearance in England were nearly related to the Anglo-Saxons, for they belonged to the second great branch of the Teuto-Gothic nations. They were Scandinavians, and their religion, habits, and laws, in 787 A.D., closely resembled those of the Anglo-Saxons at the time of their invasion 300 years before.

The roots of their language were mostly the same as those of A.S., but there were some important differences in construction and inflection; and therefore, though their language produced great changes on its introduction, these were rather technical than radical. The principal of them

was the loss of inflexion, for Danish and Saxon roots, being essentially the same, whilst the inflexions differed, people would naturally acquire a habit of clipping their words of that part least understood—a change which was still further carried on in the Norman period.

The invasion of 787 was oft repeated, and at last scarcely a year passed by without seeing a Danish horde on the shores. From 866 they seem to have begun a systematic conquest. The greater part of Northumbria became Norse in 867, and the remainder in 869; in 870 North Mercia and East Anglia were conquered, and in 878 Alfred was obliged to confirm the conquest. The Danes became nominally vassals, but were so far independent of the W. Saxon monarch that they introduced their own laws, language, and heathenism into their territory, the Danelagh. Later on, in 944, England as a whole became a province of Canute the Great's Norse empire, which also included Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Scotland. England remained Norse until 1042, when Edward the Confessor ascended the throne, not by any violent commotion, but by the quiet restoration of the old family. The Norsemen were not expelled, but remained in the possession of their estates, speaking their own tongue, and, equally with the Saxon, in 1066 finding an oppressor in the Norman William.

Though the Anglo-Saxons called these Norsemen Denis-can, it is not to be understood that they were exclusively natives of Denmark, for the Norwegians and Swedes certainly took part in the invasions. They, however, all spoke the same language, the old Norse or Icelandic, then known as the *dönsk* or *norræna túnga*; and it became customary to speak of them all as natives of Denmark, in the same way as we now speak of the English invasion of Abyssinia, though there were certainly Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Indians, &c., in the army. At the time of the Norse invasion the *dönsk túnga* had not become subdivided as now, but was one uniform language, only comprising one idiom, and now exactly represented by the modern Icelandic.

If we consider that the Norse settlers all spoke their

language with more or less purity even after 1066—in fact, as long as the Saxons preserved their language, that is, until the year 1100—we shall find that the Norse influences were at work in Northumbria for 233 years, counting from 867; and in East Anglia and North Mercia 230, counting from 870. We may, therefore, expect a very considerable proportion of geographical names in the Danelagh to have been taken from the *dönsk túnga*. The principal are those with the following endings:—

(1) *By*, Nors. *by*, Dano-Sax. *by*, *bye* [A.S. *ham*, Ger. *heim*], as *Derby*, and many others; (2) *dale*, Nors. *dahl*, Norw. *dâl*, Ger. *thal*, Dut. *daal*, Eng. *dale*, *vale*, North. *dawle*, as *Rochdale*, and many others; (3) *fell*, Nors. *fjall*, Dan. *fjœll*, Ger. *fels*, Dut. *vels*, as *Crossfell*, and many others; (4) *beck*, Nors. *bekkr*, Dan. *bœk*, Swed. *bäck*, Ger. *bach*, Dut. *beek*, Ditm. *bek*, O. Sax. *beki*, Dano-Sax. *becc*, Norm. *bec*, North. *beck*, Eng. *brook*, as *Wansbeck*, and some others; (5) *force*, Nors. Dan. and Swed. *fors*, as *Mickleforce*, and a few others; (6) *thwaite*, as *Basenthwaite*, and a few others; (7) *loft*, as *Lowestoft*, and a few others; (8) *thorpe*, *throp*, Nors. *þorp*, Ger. *dorf*, Low Ger. *dörp*, Dut. *dorp*, Dano-Sax. *þorp*, Eng. *village*, as *Kirkthorpe*, and many others; (9) *tarn*, a common local name for a mountain lake or pool; (10) *holt*, Nors. *holt*, as *Bergholt*, and a few others; (11) *ness*, Norse *nes*, as *Dungeness*, and many others; and (12) *firth*, O. Nors. *fjörþur*, Ice. *fjörd*, as *Solway Firth*, and some others.

The Orkneys, Shetlands, and Caithness are also full of Norse names, for in these districts the Norsemen settled in great force, and introduced their own language, a dialect of which was spoken until the last century in the island of North Ronaldshaw. The additional Norse geographical names obtained from this area are—(1) *stack*, Dan. *stak*, a precipitous rock rising out of the sea; (2) *skerry*, a flat, insulated rock not overflowed by the sea (there is a *Skerriecraw* in Ayrshire); (3) *noup*, a round-headed hill; (4) *voe*, a creek, as *Rowesvoe*; (5) *wick*, an open bay, Nors. *vik* (as *viking* = *vik* + the patronymic *ing*), *Wick* in Caithness; (6) *helyar*, a tidal cavern, Nors. *hellir*; (7) *gio*, a deep gully

running down to the sea, Nors. *giau*, Germ. *gau*, Eng. *gully*; (8) *kaim*, a Danish fortified station; (9) *rat*, a fort, Dan. *rath*, as *Hourat* near Largs, though some say that Hourat = Dan. *höfud*, head, which is also the etymon of *Howth*. Before leaving this Norse district it may be as well to point out that the dialect now spoken there contains an immense number of Norse roots, as may be seen from Edmonton's 'Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect' ('Philological Society's Transactions, 1866'), from which the following examples are taken at random:—*Boondsfolk*, peasantry, Shet. from Nors. *bondifolk*, Sw. and Dan. *bondefolk*; *coob*, to bring forth young (applied only to the seal), Shet. from Isl. *kobbi*, a seal; *kopi* phocula, a little seal; *elsk*, to love, Shet. from Nors. and Sw. *elska*, Dan. *elske*; *galti*, a pig, Shet. from Isl. *galti*; *heck*, a crutch, Shet. from Nors. *hekja*; *hookers*, bended knees, Shet. from prov. Dan. *hokke*, Isl. *hoka*, &c. &c.

The Scotch counties south of Caithness and north of the Forth are principally Celtic; but from the Forth to Rugby and Essex we have another Norse area. If the Anglo-Saxon accounts of the Norse invasion are followed date by date, it will be found that they were most frequent round the Humber, with Grimsby for centre, on the Yare, with Lowestoft for centre, in Cumberland, Galloway, Man, Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Welsh borders. Farther south we do not read of them so frequently. Geography fully confirms history in this case, for in Yorkshire we find 400 Norse placenames, in Lincolnshire 300, in Westmoreland 150, in Cumberland 150, in Leicester 90, in South Scotland 50, in Northumberland 50, in Durham 50, in Lancashire 50, in Northampton 50, in Derby 50, and in Norfolk 50, while farther off the proportion diminishes.

If the Norse invasion is clearly written in the placenames, it is much more easily discernible in the people themselves, in their idioms, and in their folklore.

The Norsemen were characterised by an almost inordinate love of the perils of the deep, by their reckless exposure of life to every danger, by personal pride, by individual

enterprise, by legal shrewdness, by love of argument, by cold manners, by love of revelry and respect for woman—all characteristics of the Northern English and Southern Scotch. These people are more independent and resolute, they organise more co-operative movements, more strikes, and form more plans of self-government than the rest of the English. In 'Doomsday' we find that these Norse counties had the greatest proportion of freeholders.

Of the dialects those of the North, more especially the Scotch, are remarkable for the great number of Norse forms.

The list of these provincialisms would occupy several pages alone. The North Countryman's habit of changing *th* into *d*, as *smiddy* for *smithy*, is Norse; so also is the change of *ch* or *sh* into *k*, as *kurn* for *churn*, *kirk* for *church*, *skift* for *shift*; and it is Norse to change *f* into *p*, as *Jwosep* for *Joseph*, *lopt* for *loft*. No one can be long amongst Northumbrians without remarking how frequently they insert the letter *y* before the open vowels. *Hyem*, *hyed*, *hyair*, *hyart*, *lyuk*, *pyul*, *enyugh*, and *ageyn* may be instanced as Tyneside pronunciations of *hem*, *head*, *hair*, *heart*, *look*, *pull*, *enough*, and *again*. In Yorkshire this sound is intruded into most words containing a double vowel, as *muin*, *sooin*, *spuin*, *shoein*, for *moon*, *soon*, *spoon*, *shoon* (shoes). In Lancashire it is pronounced like *e* in 'met,' as *keow*, *heow*, *leuke*, for *cow*, *how*, *look*, while in Cheshire and Derbyshire the sound is almost amalgamated with the other vowel into a diphthong, as *beawt*, *weide*, *accaent*, *reight*, and *leike*, for *'bout*, *wide*, *account*, *right*, and *like*. This inserted vowel sound is Norse, as *hjarta*, *fjörþur*, *kjölr*, *hjalpa*, *sjo*, *bjór*, *bjall*, *jorþ*, which are in Lanc. *he-eart*, *fe-irth ke-el*, *he-alp*, *se-a*, *be-er*, *be-el*, and *yarth*. Of pure Norse provincialisms we may mention, by way of example, Scot. *bale*, Nors. *bál*, fire; North. *brass*, impudence; Nors. *brasta*, to be dissolute; Scot. North. *big*, Nors. *bygga*, to build, to dwell; North. to *drop* upon a person, Nors. *drepa*, to smite; Scot. North. *greet*, to weep, Nors. *grata*; North. *sill*, a young herring, Dan. *sild*, Sw. *sill*, a herring, &c. &c., to several hundreds.

There is also an important Norse element in literary English, which must not be disregarded. The substantive verbal form *are* is Norse (*ërum*, *ërurð*, *ëru*), and was adopted into English from the dialects long after Chaucer wrote, for Layamon does not use it; in 'Ormulun' it comes under the form of *arrn*, and Chaucer only uses it twice. There are very numerous technicalities in Cædmon, the Northumbrian Psalter, the Rushworth Gospels, and other works written in the North which are traced to Norse influence, but these, for want of space, must be passed over. In modern English there are a great number of words which are traceable to the same source, most of which were adopted from the dialects before the fifteenth century; e.g. *are*, *busk*, *bole*, *bound*, *buckle to*, *call*, *cast*, *cat*, *curl*, *dairy*, *daze*, *die*, *droop*, *dapple*, *dowdy*, *flake*, *flat*, *flit*, *gasp*, *gait*, *ill*, *lubber*, *lug*, *muck*, *pebble*, *pikestaff*, *plough*, *root*, *spear*, *shy*, *tarn*, *trill*, *trip*, *spend*, *wheeze*, *wicker*, &c. &c.

The Teutonic element of English is therefore itself mixed in vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar.

§ 5. *The Celtic Element.*

The Celts were the occupiers of the British Islands at the commencement of the historical period. They were of two tribes, the Gaels or Erse in Ireland, and the Cymri or Britons in Great Britain. In 503 the Gaels conquered a great portion of Scotland, driving the Cymri before them, and thus the Erse tongue was divided into two dialects, the Irish and the Gaelic. The Manx people originally used Erse, but they experienced so many changes between Erse and Gaelic that their dialect occupies an intermediate position between the other two. The Teutonic invasion severed the Cymri into several disconnected states, and in process of time as many dialects resulted from this isolation; hence the origin of (1) Welsh; (2) Cornish, now extinct; (3) Cumbrian, now extinct; (4) Pictish, now extinct; and (5) Armorican or Breton.

As a matter of convenience the Teutons retained all the old geographical names, and thus it happens that a very large vocabulary of Celtic words is to be found in modern English. But there are many other vocables which may be mentioned; thus, *barrow*, *clout*, *crowder*, *cock* (boat), *cresset*, *dainty*, *tenter*, *fleam*, *flaw*, *gyve*, *gruel*, *welt*, *wicket*, *wire*, *mesh*, *mattock*, *mop*, *rail*, *rather*, *rug*, *size* (glue), *basket*, *button*, *bran*, *coat*, *car*, *balderdash*, *cabin*, *cobble* (boat), *kebel*, *crockery*, *kick*, *darn*, *drain*, *flannel*, *gown*, *prank*, *whisky*, *cromlech*, *usquebaugh*, *banshee*, &c. &c.

In speaking of the Celtic element we cannot omit to notice the great number of Cornish mining terms which have been adopted into the nomenclature of science. The list of these words includes *growan*, granite; *killas*, slatey schist; *elvan*, granite and felspar porphyry; *fleukan*, earth which cuts off a lode; and *gossan*, iron ochre; with many others.

§ 6. *Elements from Distant Parts.*

The English Empire has, as we are told by politicians, its centre of gravity in Asia, and accordingly, besides the Hebrew words known to us through the Old Testament Scriptures, we find very many evidences of our communication with the East. The Arabic has contributed, perhaps, a hundred roots; Persian about a score; Turkish, Chinese, and Malay about a score between them; whilst our books and newspapers concerning our Indian Empire teem with words adopted from Hindústání and other Indian tongues.

To make this list of elements from distant parts complete, we must also include the languages of Polynesia, America, and Africa as having each contributed to make our language the most mixed tongue upon the earth.

When our colonists return home they use a great number of terms and forms not acknowledged in current English; our soldiers and sailors do the same. Many of these will, of course, be lost after a renewal of their connection with their mother tongue and country, but very many of them must survive in our literature, for works of adventure are con-

stantly pouring from our press in which these terms are freely introduced. As such books are principally read by the young, who readily retain impressions, especially under a state of excitement, their influence on the vocabulary of English must be very great indeed. Words so introduced soon find their way into newspapers and literature of a higher class, as may be seen by glancing over the works of Longfellow.

From Hebrew we have *sabaoth*, *sabbath*, *allelujah*, *amen*, *seraph*, *cherub*, *levite*, *sadducee*, *pharisee*, *sabian*, *leviathan*, *abbot*, *cabal*, *jubilee*, *shibboleth*.

From the Arabic of the Crusaders we get *Koran*, *admiral*, *chess*, *caravan*, *massymore*, *scimitar*, *turban*, *spikenard*, *caliph*, *assassin*. From the Arabic of Spain we obtain *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *algorism*, *algorithm*, *alkali*, *almacantar*, *almanac*, *amber*, *azimuth*, *nadir*, *lake* (colour), *azure*, *gibberish*, *crimson*, *zenith*, *alcove*, *alguazil*, *barb*. From Arabic of other sources we have *mohair*, *attar*, *orange*, *lemon*, *coffee*, *minaret*, *vizier*.

From Indian languages we have *calico*, *muslin*, *chintz*, *dimity*, *rupee*, *rum*, *sugar*, *pagoda*, *toddy*, *palanquin*, *jungle*, *paunch*, *nabob*, *pundit*, *rajah*, *rice*, *cashmire*.

From the Indian peninsula and Malasia we have *bramah*, *bantam*, *amuck*, *gamboge*, *sago*, *verandah*, *ourang-outang*, *rattan*, *caddy*, *cockatoo*.

From Java we obtain *gingham*.

From Japan we have *japan*.

From China we get *china*, *tea*, *mandarin*, *nankeen*.

From Persia, *peri*, *dervish*, *emerald*, *lac*, *lilac*, *pasha*, *sash*, *shawl*.

From Turkey we obtain *chouse*, *divan*, *janissary*, *caftan*.

From Polynesia, *tatto*, *taboo*.

From American Indian, *yam*, *wigwam*, *squaw*, *maize*, *tobacco*, *canoe*, *cocoa*, *hammock*, *tomahawk*, *skunk*.

The advances which are now made almost daily in science demand an exact nomenclature, and for this purpose the Greek language seems to be the most suitable. We have some hundreds of Greek roots, and we have adopted nearly

all the Greek prepositions as prefixes, and many Greek endings. Most of these we have taken direct from the original tongue; but one Greek verbal ending, *-ise*, or *-ize*, especially in favour now, is undoubtedly introduced from modern French. Some of our Greek words come to us in a Romance dress, as *blame* (blaspheme), *fantom* (fantasm, phantasy), &c., which are respectively French *blâmer*, *fantôme*, &c. Many of our Greek nouns have already lost their original plurals in ordinary conversation, as *phenomenon*, which only takes *phenomena* in scientific works, but is thoroughly at home with us as *phenomenons*; so also *nomads*, *hyads*, and many others. The case is, however, different with those words which already end in *s* in the Greek singular, as *axis*, *basis*, *ellipsis*, *oasis*, &c., which, in consequence of the susurration of the English form, must retain the Greek plural, as *axes*, *bases*, *ellipses*, *oases*, &c. *Axises*, *basises*, &c., would be instantly condemned.

§ 7. *The Latin and Neo-Latin Element. English is a Teuto-Romance Language.*

In the preceding chapters of this essay numerous instances of mixture in vocabulary have been brought forward, and several other kinds of mixture have been hinted at; but nothing short of proofs of mixture in grammar will satisfy our modern school. They will say: 'All that has been shown is this, that the English of to-day contains elements in its vocabulary which no Anglo-Saxon would have been able to comprehend, and that the grammar is principally remarkable as being the wreck of what it once was.'

The contest between the German school and their opponents will be fought on Romance ground. The languages which have been considered must be rather regarded as useful adjuncts to English than as component parts of it. But it is not so with the group of languages now under notice, or rather it is not so with one of them—the Norman dialect of French.

If Anglo-Saxon is to be considered as the mother tongue of modern English—the phrase is not very correct, but we have become so used to it that we do not stop to criticise it—Norman French has a right to be considered as its equal.

English is *not Teutonic, nor yet Neo-Latin*, but it is the *product of both*, and that in every point—viz. (1) vocabulary, (2) grammar, (3) arrangement, and (4) pronunciation.

It has been thought most remarkable that Rome, the greatest nation of antiquity, should have exerted such a small direct influence on our language after her 200 years' occupation of these islands. We have *street*, from *strata*; *coln*, an abbreviation of *colonia*; *-caster* or *-chester*, from *castra*; and *-wick*, from *vicus*, οἶκος; with, perhaps, *-port*, from *portus*. There the list terminates. Some of these words have found their way into most languages, especially *strata*; others are very rare out of England.

The influence of Latin in this country was principally geographical, and was exerted in three distinct lines from London respectively to South Wales, Chester, and York. That this influence was so slight is natural, for very few of the legions which were introduced into these islands were Latins, and consequently their Latin language would be most debased and mixed. Such as this influence was it left a few words in the Celtic, which have been given on a preceding page. Heathen Rome was linguistically almost powerless in Britain; Christian Rome has been, on the contrary, most powerful. It was natural that the priests of Augustine should desire to reserve native terms for heathen worship, and should endeavour to introduce Latin ones for the new culture. Thus we had the A.S. words *mynster*, *cluster*, *portic*, *munuc*, *arcebisceop*, *bisceop*, *sanct*, *martyr*, *calic*, *pistel*, *ancra*, *postel*, *diacon*, *clerc*, *preost*, *ælmesse*, *carited*, *pall*, *regol*, *prædican*, *candel*, *psalter*, *mæsse*, *abhod*, *synod*, *tempel*, *titul*, *tunic*, *tor* (turris), *sacerd*, *albe*, *antefn* or *antiphone*, *bæpstere*, *basilica*, *calend*, *canon*, *capitola* (capitulum), *chor*, *cyric*, *creda*, *Cristen*, *demon*, *diabul* or

deofol, *discipul*, *earce* (arca), *ele* (oleum), *fœrs* (versus), *nunna*, *offrian*, *organ*, *palm*, *papa* (pope), *reliquie*, *scólu*, *sigel* (sigillum), &c.

In their intercourse with the Saxons the priests would naturally be obliged to use many words not strictly connected with religious matters, but still new to the converts. Thus we got *leon*, *pipor*, *peterselige* (parsley), *Casere*, *coorta*, *elpend* or *ylp*, *magister*, *palista* or *balista*, *purpure*, *talenta*, *port*, *portgerefa*, *weall*, *mill*, *butur*, *cése*, *pœl*, *persue*, *lactuce*, *lilie*, *pis-a*, *meregreot*, *colufre*, *ostre*, *pawa*, *trúht*, *turtle*, *pund*, *ynce*, *culter*, *marmanstán*, *tæfel*, *mynet*, *carcern*, *fic*, *ficbeám*, *feferfuge*, *pumicstán*, *tigol*, *meowle*, *fœmne*, *pyrige*, *peru*, *prófost*, *profian*, *camell*, *balsam*, *cærfille* (cerefolium, chevil), *cedar*, *cistenbeám* (castaneus), *circul*, *crystreow* (cerasus), *culpian* (culpare), *cipresse*, *clúse* (clausa), *corona*, *cristalla*, *disc*, *draca* (draco), *gigant*, *gimum* (gem), *lufuste* (ligusticum), *munt* (mons), *palant* (palatium), *pard* (πάρδος), *pinsian* (pensare), *pinntreow* (pinus), *plánt*, *plaster*, *plum*, *porleac* (porrus), *pople* (populus), *post*, *prím*, *pervince* (vinca, periwinkle), *pytt* (puteus), *rute* (ruta), *rœdice*, *senepe* (σίνηπι), *solere* (solarium), and perhaps *ortgard* (orchard = hortus + geard or yard).

The above were all introduced before the Conquest; but the Normans brought the Latin Church, with its full ceremonial and with its Latin service. Henceforward Latin was adopted boldly, both directly and in the shape of Norman French—not always pure Latin, but monkish or dog Latin; indeed, little pure Latin was adopted before the revival of learning, when fashion made it necessary for every man to encumber and interlard his speech with Latinity. A miller's daughter at this period became a *molinary damsel*, to go was to *itinerate*, a farmer was known as an *agriculturist*, and a countryman figured as a *rural person*. The simple question 'What o'clock is it?' was by this same process changed into 'Will you interrogate time's transitation?'

'Love's Labour's Lost,' 'Cynthia's Revel,' and similar works soon, however, cured the language of this 'word-mongery,' and many of these fine terms dropped out of the

lexicon. Those which had no other recommendation than that they were fine terms were lost altogether, but those which were useful were retained in spite of all protests to the contrary. So many indeed remained, or have been since added to the language, that with direct Latin, and with Neo-Latin, it is possible to find some precedent for about a thousand forms of word from each Latin verbal root. This inexhaustible supply is checked by a very limited demand at present, but there is no saying how largely it may be drawn upon in the future, as it must be drawn upon if English is to become the universal language, or 'Weltsprache,' which Grimm has declared it will be.

But if the direct influence of Latin in the future will be great it can scarcely be greater than its indirect influence in the past has been. This brings us to consider the Romance element of our language one scarcely second in importance to the Anglo-Saxon itself.

That the indirect Latin is in many points very different from the direct may be seen by glancing over this table :—

Norman.	Latin.	Norman.	Latin.
balm	balsam	conceit	conception
caitiff	captive	constraint	construction
chalice	calyx	couch	collocate
coy	quiet	construe	construct
paint	depict	defeat	depict
mayor	major	feat	fact
sampler	exemplar	fashion	faction
sir	senior	esteem	estimate
loyal	legal	lesson	lection
purvey	provide	purveyance	providence
poor	pauper	frail	fragile

Thus our language is doubled, first in having a Teutonic and a Latin vocabulary ('dissemble,' and 'cloak,' &c.), and secondly in having indirect as well as direct Latin. The advantage of the arrangement is in most cases manifest, for these words have seldom exactly the same meaning now, though of course they originated in the bilingual state of the English when it was necessary to address the learned and

the unlearned, the foreigner and the native, in a different way in order to be understood of both.

The indirect influence of Latin, in the form of Romance or Neo-Latin, on the language of our Teutonic forefathers has been immeasurable. Under it Anglo-Saxon became a dead language, or, to put it more correctly, the union of Anglo-Saxon with Norman French produced that Anglo-Romance language we call English; hence the propriety of reserving the term 'Old English' to the oldest form of this mixture, instead of using it, with the German school, as synonymous with Anglo-Saxon. If it had not been for the Normans we should have remained Germans; if William the Conqueror could have had his way, we should have become Frenchmen; but, thanks to the Norman invasion on the one hand, and to our Teutonic stubbornness on the other, we are neither one nor the other, but English.

Thus the greatest revolution which ever affected the *so-called* Anglo-Saxon race—we write *so-called* because the number of intermarriages with Celts must not be overlooked—is undoubtedly the Norman invasion of 1066, by which a new blood and a new language were introduced into this country.

These Norman invaders were no purer in blood than the Anglo-Saxons, for it was only a small band of Norsemen that landed in Neustria in 876 under Rollo, and obtained from Charles the Simple a grant of territory in 912, when the union of Norse blood with French—also impure—produced the Norman race.

Norse place-names are very common in Normandy. *By* appears as *by*, *bye*, *buf*, *bure*, or *boeuf*; *toft* as *tot*; *wick* as *ville*; *ness* as *nez*; *gardr* as *gard*; *thorpe* as *torp*, *torbe*, *tourp*, *tourbe*, *tourps*; *beckr* as *bec*; *ö* as *eu* or *ey*; *fliot* as *fleur*, *flet*, *flot*; *holme* as *hulme*, *how*, *houlme*; *dalr* as *dalles*, *dales*, *dale*, *dal*, *tal*; and *holt as houlde*, *oude*. From the frequency of these names in Normandy we might suppose that the settlement was very complete, and that a Norse language was generally spoken. This, however, was not the case. The possession was merely that of a dominant

race, taking all the estates into its own hands, and calling them by its own names. The people were what they were before—a mixture of Celt, Latin, and Frank—and spoke their own language, a dialect of French. But, as years rolled on, the Norse element was absorbed, the populace and their language acquiring thereby a distinctive character. The disposition of the people was not admired by the rest of France, where the term *Normand* became the synonym of deceit, slyness, and cunning. A *réponse normande* is an ambiguous answer; a *réconciliation normande*, a pretended reconciliation; and a *fin normand*, a sly fellow.

Of the two languages of France, called *Oc* and *Oyl*, the Norman belonged to the latter, but there are many instances of Norman gentlemen whose facility in the former was so great that they could compose extempore verses in it. The *Langue d'Oc* has not been without its influence on English literature, especially on our early poetry.

The *Langue d'Oyl*, or Old French, of which Norman was a dialect, compared with Anglo-Saxon was much sweeter and poetical—much more so than modern French, to which these qualities can scarcely be said to appertain. French is eminently the language of a nation of chatterers, Anglo-Saxon of doers; therefore it is probable that if the two tongues had been placed on an equality in this country, French, the language of the few, would have passed away in one or two generations, without any further change being produced than is to be found in a short vocabulary. But the Normans, though few in number, equalled the Saxons in energy, and excelled them in enterprise. Indeed, they excelled the rest of Europe in this point, and most of that daring spirit which characterises the Englishman all over the world comes to him from this source rather than from the Teutonic. William the Conqueror's enterprising spirit led him to attempt the entire annihilation of the Anglo-Saxon nationality, and consequently of the distinctive feature of that nationality—the Anglo-Saxon tongue. He therefore issued his behest that—

1. The court should employ no language but Norman French.

2. No servant of the State or Church should employ Anglo-Saxon in any legal document.

3. Norman French should be the medium of communication at schools.

4. In the law courts judgment should be given against the suitor who pleaded in Anglo-Saxon, as that argued disaffection to the government; and

5. All existing documents in Anglo-Saxon were declared invalid.

Thus Norman French became the language of courtiers, churchmen, lawyers, and schoolboys, as it was already the language of the army. Anglo-Saxon was banished to the field, the cottage, and the farm, and—safest place of all—to the hearts of the people. Those persons who were of necessity obliged to communicate with both sections of the community soon acquired a double vocabulary. At last even the peasants learned to call ox, sheep, and pig by the daintier names of *bœuf*, *mouton*, and *porc* when serving their masters;—in their own houses, if they had the chance, which was but seldom, they helped themselves to great *steaks* (A.S. *sticce*) of *baked* or *sodden flesh*; but very politely assisted their feudal superiors in their palaces and castles to *delicate morsels* of *viands roast* and *boiled* (*morceau*, *viande*, *rôti*, *bouilli*).

This particular Neo-Latin dialect, the Norman, was mixed with Norse roots, and therefore corrupted Anglo-Saxon the more easily, as that language already contained many introductions from the same source. Thus the Norman *davre* (F. *déjeuner*) is Icel. *dagverdr*; *fikke* (F. *poche*) is *ficki*; *feig* (F. *moribund*) is *feigr*; *grande* (F. *voisin*) is *granni*; *gild* (F. *habile*) is *gildr*; and *kand* (F. *cabane*) is *kot*. In these words the Danish varies, as it does in numerous others; hence we conclude that the Normans came originally not from Denmark, but from Norway. No doubt a search would be rewarded by the discovery of many Norwegian words which have found their way into our dialects through this source.

The old Norman preserved many Celtic words which it

had acquired from the Bretons and Gauls, or rather which it found already preserved in the French of Neustria. Of these very many have been brought into this country in a French dress; thus: *bag*, *barren*, *barrator*, *barrel*, *basin*, *basket*, *bassinet*, *bonnet*, *bucket*, *boots*, *bran*, *brisket*, *button*, *chemise*, *car*, *cart*, *clapper*, *dagger*, *dungeon*, *gravel*, *gown*, *harness*, *marl*, *mitten*, *motley*, *osier*, *pot*, *posnet*, *rogue*, *ribbon*, *skein*, *tike*, *vassal*, and *varlet*.

Norman French also acted as a medium for the introduction of many Frankic and other Teutonic words into our language. In this way we get *aghast*, *ambassador*, *arrange*, *arquebus*, *attack*, *await*, *attire*, *baldric*, *balcony*, *barrier*, *belfry*, *bivouac*, *busk*, *butt*, *brand*, *brandish*, *bruise*, *carcanet*, *chamberlain*, *champion*, *choice*, *cry*, *descry*, *dance*, *defile*, *enamel*, *eschew*, *embarrass*, *fee*, *fief*, *flatter*, *gallop*, *gage*, *garnish*, *grate*, *guard*, *guide*, *guerdon*, *guile*, *guise*, *hamlet*, *haste*, *hauberk*, *harangue*, *haunt*, *herald*, *lansquenet*, *lecher*, *march*, *marcher*, *marshal*, *massacre*, *pouch*, *poke*, *pocket*, *poach*, *quiver*, *range*, *reward*, *ribald*, *rifle*, *ring*, *roast*, *rob*, *robe*, *seize*, *seneschal*, *shallop*, *skiff*, *slate*, *spy*, *target*, *tire*, *towel*, *tumble*, *turn*, *wage*, *wait*, *war*, *wicket*, *wimple*, and *warish*.

But by far the greater portion of Norman French was of Latin origin. The changes of vowel and consonant distinguishing it from French will be pointed out in another place, and the method in which Latin became French has already been noticed.

Thus Latin became Norman, which, after mixing with Anglo-Saxon, helped to make ENGLISH. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries are the period of this change.

Those foreign words which then became naturalised in our country drove out so many Anglo-Saxon words, dismembered the Anglo-Saxon grammar, and changed the whole spirit as well as the very sound of the language spoken by Alfred. Yet in spite of all this our Teutonists declare that it is the same language still which we now use, and to favour these views they assert that Alfred did not speak Anglo-Saxon, but Old English. Surely this is the story of the

garment, which, after being continually renovated, so that the original fabric could scarce be distinguished, remained the same garment still, in spite of the patches of all colours, shapes, and sizes.

The foreign words—*that is, words not Anglo-Saxon*—are as 4 to 1, and yet in the face of this, coupled with the fact that the Anglo-Saxon inflections of declension, of conjugation, and of gender are nearly all lost, we find the name of Old English not only given, but strongly defended too, and everybody who dares to whisper a word about Anglo-Saxon is considered a barbarian. So strong has this mania become that a recent grammarian *apologises* for speaking of Anglo-Saxon, though he did so on principle.

The rise, then, of the ENGLISH language must be placed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—that is to say, at the time when our forefathers began to feel reconciled to the language of the Conqueror, and to use either Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman as they thought fit.

English must therefore be regarded as the offspring of two languages, or perhaps as the engrafting of two languages one on the other, followed by the subsequent lopping off of most of the superfluous words and inflections.

This process of adopting Latin began even before the Norman Conquest in the court of Edward the Confessor. But between 1066 and 1200 there is a very marked leaning towards French forms of Latin words. This may be seen from the following table:—

Latin	Before Conquest	After Conquest
carcer	carcer, carcern	[*prisun*]
turris	tor	tur
psalterium	psaltere [*ps* sounded as Greek ψ]	sauter, saltere
psalmus	psalm, salm [do.]	salm, salmes
missa	messe, mæsse	messe
magister	mægester	meister
eleemosyna	ælmesse, ælmesse	elmesse, almes
caritas	carited	cherite
sanctus	sanct	seinte, seint
clericus	cleric, clerc	clerk

Latin	Before Conquest	After Conquest
monachus	monec, munuc	munek
turtur	turtle	turtle
monasterium	mynster	munster, minster
palma	palm	palm
calix	calic, calc	calice, caliz
marmor	marmanstán	marbreston, -e
episcopus	biscop	bissope
alba	albe	albe
corona	corona	crune
mons	munt	munt
nonna	nunna, nunne	nonne (nonnerie)
elephas	ylp, ylpand	olifante
pallium	pæl, pel	pal
schola	scólu	scole
templum	tempel	temple
canonicus	canon	canoun

Thus, as a general rule, the Anglo-Saxon before the Conquest is seen to be nearer the Latin; the same word after the Conquest is also, as a general rule, nearer the French.

From 1100 the leaning towards French was very strong, certainly much stronger than the leaning towards Anglo-Saxon.

It would in this place be impossible to give a complete list of words which have been since that time adopted from a French source, but the following may be taken as examples of some which became naturalised in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the two centuries of the *real Old English*:—*Admiral, abbey, annoy, attire, astronomy, baron, court, count, countess, cable, chemise, custom, camp, change, chattel, chieftain, close, country, cope, crown, cross, cry, dub, delay, duke, empress, easy, escape, espy, font, false, fail, fool, grace, guile, guise, hardily, honour, hostage, hurt, ire, justice, jugler, large, legion, miracle, master, mercy, manner, messenger, machine, male, mile, mountain, nun, nunnery, peace, prison, privilege, procession, penance, palfry, poor, passion, poverty, pride, pilgrim, post, power, rent, riches, roll, standard, sot, sacrament, sermon, service, spouse, school, scorn, senator, serve, serving, sire, suffer, treasure, tower, taper, turn, use,* and *wait.*

The above are only taken from the Saxon Chronicle and Layamon. Other works would give other words. Thus in the Lambeth Homilies (1200) we have about 50 French words; in the Trinity College Homilies (1200), 64; in Layamon's 'Brut' (1205), 111, and in the later text, 167; in 'Seinte Marharrete' (1220), 29; in 'On Ureisun' (1220), 8; in 'On Lofsong of Ure Lefdi' (1230), 8; in 'On God Ureisun' (1230); in the 'Soules Warde' (1230), 19; in the 'Wohunge of Ure Louerd' (1230), 41; in the 'Hali Meidenhad' (1230), 57; in the 'Ancren Riwle' (1230), 496; in the 'Bestiary' (1240), 18; in Genesis and Exodus (1240), 43; in 'Old Kentish Sermons' (1240), 73; in the 'Owl and Nightingale' (1244), 37; in the 'Jesus Poems' (1244), 81; in 'Havelok the Dane' (1280), 161; in 'King Horn' (1300), 82; in the 'Assumpcioun (1300), 19; and in 'Florice and Blauncheflur' (1300),' 118. And so the numbers constantly increased, but this increase can scarcely be judged from the above statements, because of the varying length of the pieces cited. It may, therefore, be compared with the following statement of English words which have become obsolete. Of our poetry before 1066, 50 per cent. of the words are now obsolete, and of Anglo-Saxon prose 24 per cent.; in Layamon, 20 per cent.; in 'Ancren Riwle,' 18 per cent.; in Genesis and Exodus, 16 per cent.; in the 'Owl and Nightingale,' 14 per cent.; in the 'Lofsong,' 8 per cent.; and in 'Havelok,' 8 per cent.

The actual number of Romance words thus introduced amounted to 150 before 1066; in 1200 it was 250; in 1300 it had increased to 1050; whilst in Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' which poem may be considered the centre point in the history of our literature, we find that the number of Romance words is slightly in excess of the Saxon—just, in fact, as is the case now.

It was in the age of Chaucer that the distinctive character of English as a speech was first recognised. The old Norman, kept up in the law courts, having been from the time of John cut off from all communication with its source in France, had become obsolete and ridiculous. The English

nation felt that the French they learned at school was of no use to them if they travelled to Paris, though it might have passed muster at Stratford-atte-Bowe; and accordingly, finding that they could neither learn good English nor good French, they expressed their ideas on the subject so powerfully that in 1362 William de Edington, Chancellor to Edward III., carried through Parliament an Act (Stat. 36 Ed. III. c. 15) to this effect:—'*Item, pur ce qe monstre est souventfoitz au Roi par prelats, ducs, counts, barons, et tout la communalte les grantz meschiefs qe sont advenuz as plusours du realme,*' because the laws, &c., were administered '*en la lange Franceis, qest trop disconue en le dit realme,*' therefore the king ordered that the executive should be for the future '*en la lange Engleise,*' and that law entries should be made in Latin. Henceforward English had a legal status, and made such rapid progress towards its present form that the works written shortly after can be read with comparative ease.

*** The year 1362 is a date to be remembered, just as much as 1066, or 449, and accordingly will present a favourable opportunity for us to pause, in order to note what we owe to the Anglo-Saxons, and what to the Normans.

Most of our laws being of Norman origin, it is but natural that law should be a great repository of Norman words. Thus we have *chancellor, chancery, puisne, petit* and *grand jury, baron, sergeant, mesne, judges in eyre, exchequer, bar, assize, attorney, case, cause, court, dower, damages, estate, felony, fine, mulct, parliament, plaintiff, plea, plead, statute, sue, tax, ward,* and a host of others more technical than popular.

The art of war was never developed in England until the arrival of the Normans, and accordingly all the usual military terms are of French origin, though not all ancient. Thus we have *army, general, division, aide-de-camp, marshal, colonel, lieutenant, adjutant, major, captain, sergeant, corporal, lance, fuse, rank, file, pensioner, recruit, deserter, artillery, cannon, musket, sabre, cartridge, glacis, fascine, accoutrements, bayonet, rear, guard, sentinel, countersign,*

and *standard*. On the other hand, the navy (Lat. *navis*) being principally dependent on the sea-loving Englishman, has but few terms not Teutonic. Most of the words, except *king*, *queen*, *lord*, *lady*, and *earl*, connected with the court and aristocracy are Romance; as, *chancellor*, *chamberlain*, *comptroller*, *marshal*, *usher*, *deputy*, *constable*, *equerry*, *page*, *levee*, *prince*, *peer*, *duke*, *marquis*, *count*, *viscount*, *baron*, *gentle*[man], *squire*, *master*, *secretary*, *treasurer*, *councillor*, *ambassador*, *cabinet*, *minister*, *heir*, *sovereign*, *emperor*, *reign*, &c. &c.

The terms of chivalry, except *knight* (A.S. *cniht*), are Norman too; as, *aid*, *armour*, *assault*, *baron*, *battle*, *buckler*, *chivalry*, *challenge*, *fealty*, *gallant*, *hauberk*, *homage*, *mail*, *march*, *soldier*, *tallage*, *truncheon*, *vassal*, *scutage*, &c.

Field sports were only allowed to the Normans, and therefore there are few technical terms connected with them which are not Romance—*bag*, *brace*, *chase*, *couple*, *copse*, *course*, *covert*, *falcon*, *tiercet*, *venison*, *forest*, *leash*, *leveret*, *mews*, *quarry*, *reynard*, and *rabbit*.

It was the Normans who established the Papacy firmly in this country, and therefore we have *altar*, *bible*, *baptism*, *ceremony*, *devotion*, *friar*, *homily*, *idolatry*, *interdict*, *piety*, *penance*, *prayer*, *preach*, *relic*, *religion*, *sermon*, *scandal*, *sacrifice*, *saint*, *tonsure*, and numerous other Church terms, of Romance origin.

The culinary art, as such, did not exist in England before the Norman Conquest, and accordingly most of the old, as well as nearly all the modern, cooking terms are of French origin; as, *beef*, *mutton*, *veal*, *pork*, *pullet*, *capon*, *patty*, *cate*, *conserve*, *preserve*, *plate*, *table*, *hippocras*, *malmsey*, *claret*, *ragout*, *fricandeau*, *fricassee*, *victuals*, *provender*, *flour*, *lard*, *grease*, *butter*, *roast*, *boiled*, *fry*, *bacon*, *toast*, *sausage*, *pie*, *soup*, *spirits*.

From the Anglo-Saxon source we obtain the names of most of the grand objects of nature, of agriculture, of the commoner animals, of our bodies and bodily functions, of our implements and tools, and of our special actions and qualities. The names of our relationships, of our homes and their

belongings, of our clothing, of our colours, and of our trades are about equally divided. All words relating to art, to intellectual culture, to modern civilisation, and to progress are Romance, so also are most terms of generalisation. But terms of endearment, pleasantry, invective, and indignation, as well as those which give point to proverbs, are, with few exceptions, of home growth.

If all terms of Romance origin were swept out of our language, we should find ourselves at as great a loss for words as would an American savage if suddenly brought under the influence of our civilisation.

It may, perhaps, be objected that it is only in the higher and more learned stations of society in which this Romance influence is supreme; but it is not so—our dialects contain much more French than is generally supposed.

Of the countryman Trevisa tells us that 'Jack wold be a gentleman yf he coude speke Frensche,' from which we may suppose that Jack tried hard to do so; indeed, Piers Plowman speaks of dykers and delvers singing French songs over their day's work.[1] This being the case, we must not be surprised to find French words in our dialects; they are found there in great numbers, and with few exceptions are strong evidences of the thoroughness of the Romanising influences instituted by the Norman William.

At first no doubt the countryman thought it very hard to be obliged to speak French to his feudal superior; but having once acquired the vocabulary, he would begin by using it in aping and mimicking his lord behind his back and in flattering him to his face; then the use would become second nature, and he would find it as difficult to return to his Saxon as he had previously found it to leave it off. Thus Romance words were retained in the dialects long after they had been discarded from the literary language.

The Sussex peasant, perhaps because he still wears the Anglo-Saxon 'round frock,' is often instanced as an Englishman to the backbone; indeed, he himself calls the native of any other county a foreigner, but even he uses a surprising

[1] Prologue, 103.

number of Romance words in his daily speech, and he still pronounces *i* as in French; thus, *dive=deeve*. The dialects of several other counties are just as prolific in French words and sounds.

Of these French provincialisms we will instance the following:—

ablet, Westm., the bleak (fish), N.F. *able*, F. *ablette*.

abricot, *abricock*, Somer., apricot, F. *abricot*.

afer, North., a jade (horse), F. *havre*, thin.

agist, *gist*, *jise*, North., to take cattle in to feed, F. *gésir*.

ague, Angl., inflammation through taking cold, F. *aigu*.

aig, North., sour; *eager*, East., sour; *eager*, North., furious, F. *aigu*.

aim, York., to intend, N.F. *aesme*.

aistre, *estre*, Midl., house, hearth; *easter*, Midl., the back of the chimney, N.F. *aistre*, *estre*.

alantum, York., at a distance, F. *lointain*.

alls, *airles*, *arles*, V. Dial; *eorles*, Crav.; *yeorles*, Westld.; *airle* or *earl*-penny, Scot., earnest money; F. *les arrhès*.

amaister, Shrop., to teach, N.F. *maistre*, F. *maître*.

appleterre, Suss., orchard, F. *terre*.

arraine, North.; *arran*, Northamp., spider; F. *arraignée*.

arrivance, Knt., native place, F. *arriver*.

aschet, Scot., a large plate for meat, F. *assiette*.

assawte, Shrop., assault, N.F. *assaut*.

avised, Suss., aware of, F. *aviser*.

aumer, York., to overshadow, F. *ombrager*.

aumrie, *almerie*, Scot.; *aumbry*, *aumery*, *aumry*, North.; *awmry*, Suss., a large chest; N.F. *aumoire* ('All was made great books and put in almeries at Salisbury.'—Sir Th. Malory, *Mort d'Arthur*).

aunter, North., adventure, fear, N.F. *auntre*, F. *aventure*.

averil, *avril*, North., Scot., April, N.F. *averil*, F. *avril*.

baffle, E. Ang., Northamp., to cheat, to entangle, F. *bafouer*.

bargain, E. Ang., any indefinite quantity, as a cartload, F. *barguigner*, to waver.

baste, North., to mark sheep, N.F. *bastonner*, to strike.

bat, Suss., a walking-stick cut out of a hedge, F. *bâton*.

batter, Midl., to fight one's way, F. *battre*.

batter, Suss., to diminish towards the top like a wall which is thinner above than below, F. *abattre*.

batton, Norf., a strong rail, F. *bâton.*

baume, North., balm, F. *baume.*

beaver, *bever*, Suff. Ess. Northamp., an afternoon meal, or any meal at an unusual time; in slang, *bivvy* ('He is none of those ordinary eaters that will devour their breakfasts, and as many dinners without prejudice to their beavers, drinkings, or supper.'—THE WOMAN-HATER, i. 3); *beverage*, V. Dial.; *beverage*, Dev., inferior cider made after the first pressing; N.F. *breuvage.*

Beechy Head, N.F. *beau chef.*

ben, Dev., the truth, F. *bien.*

bessen, Leic., to stoop, F. *baisser.*

billercätch, Suss., game of cup and ball, F. *bilboquet.*

blain, North., to whiten, F. *blanc.*

boco de, Hastings, much of, e.g. 'boco de fish,' a phrase introduced by the smugglers, F. *beaucoup de.*

bonaillie, Scot., a parting glass with a friend, F. *bon* + *aller.*

bottle, Leic., a bundle of hay or straw ('Like a needle in a bottle of hay.'—*Proverb*); N.F. *botel*, *boteau*, F. *bottleage*, &c.

bouge, Suss., a water cask; *budge*, Suss., a water cask upon wheels; F. *bouge.*

brave, Suss., well in health, prosperous, F. *brave.*

braw, *bra'*, Scot., fine, handsome, gay, F. *brave.*

breachy, Suss., also American, inclined to break over fences as cattle are, F. *brèche.*

briss, Suss., an upstart; Dev., the dry spine of furze, F. *brusque*, rude.

broach, Suss., a spit ('Broached with the steely point of Clifford's lance.'—HENRY VI. III. ii. 3); F. *broche.*

brulliment, North., a broil, F. *brouillement.*

buffer, V. Dial., a fool, N.F. *buffard*, F. *buffle.*

busk, North., bush, F. *bosquet.*

butterie bajan, or *bejan*, Scot., a freshman at St. Andrews or Aberdeen, F. *butor*, booby, + *béjaune*, unfledged bird.

cab, Suss., a cabal, F. *cabaler*, to plot.

calangy, Old Glouc., to challenge, N.F. *calanger.*

carfax, Suss., a place where four roads meet, F. *carrefour.*

certie, *certy*, 'by my certy,' Scot., certainly, 'by my troth,' F. *certes.*

chanter, North., a part of a bagpipe, F. *chanter.*

choppine, North., a quart, F. *chopine.*

clout, V. Dial., to nail, to strike, F. *clou.*

coast, Suss., ribs of cooked meat, especially of lamb, N.F. *coste*.

contrairy, V. Dial., disagreeable ('Mary, Mary, quite contrary,' &c.), F. *contraire*.

core, Suss., a haystack nearly cut away, F. *cœur*.

coze, South., to converse familiarly, F. *causer*.

cratch, Derb., a pannier, North. the framework placed on a cart, especially at haytime, to make it larger, F. *crèche*.

crutches, Suss., broken crockery, F. *cruche*.

culp, East., a heavy blow, N.F. *coulp*, F. *coup*.

cummer, *kimmer*, Scot., a gossip, F. *commère*.

defendis, Corn., forbidden, F. *défendu*.

dishabill, Suss., disorder of almost any kind, F. *déshabillé*.

doss, North., a bed, N.F. *dossel*, a bed canopy.

dour, Scot., obstinate, F. *dur*.

droits, Kent., rights, dues, F. *droit*.

duller, Suff., to sorrow or mourn with pain, F. *douleur*.

fash, North., to trouble; *fasheous*, troublesome, F. *fâcheux*.

faut, Corn., must, F. *il faut que*.

fleed, Suss., unmelted hog's fat, F. *flèche*.

flunkie, V. Dial., a livery servant, O.F. *flanchier*, a henchman.

fracaw, Scot., fracas, F. *fracas*.

frail, Linc., *frayel*, Suss., a rush basket, N.F. *frayel*.

fruggan, North., a sort of curved poker, F. *fourgon*.

gardyloo! Scot., an Edinburgh cry before throwing dirty water out of the window (Smollet), F. *gardez de l'eau!*

gaskin, Suss., a kind of cherry brought from *Gascony* by Joan of Kent, wife of the Black Prince.

gazels, Suss., berries, especially black currants, F. *groseilles*.

geen, Suss., another name for the Gascony or *Guienne* cherry.

glincy, Suss., slippery, F. *glincer*.

gobbet, Suss., a large mouthful or lump; F. *gobet*, a hasty meal ('Into as many gobbets will I cut.'—HENRY VI. II. v. 2).

gole, Suss., a wooden drain; North., a small stream; O.F. *gole*, the gullet.

goo, Scot., taste, F. *goût*.

gout, *gote*, V. Dial, a drain, F. *goûter* (cp. *gutter*).

grange, V. Dial., a granary, F. *grange*.

gratten, Suss., a stubble field; *to gratten*, Suss., to scratch in a stubble field as pigs do; F. *gratter*.

groser, North.; *groser*, *grosert*, *groset*, Scot., gooseberry, F. *groseille*.

gross, Dev., thick, soft, as applied to food, F. *gros*.

grummet, *gromet*, Cinque Ports, a cabin boy, an awkward boy ('Et in qualibet nave xxi homines cum uno garcione qui dicitur gromet.'—*Suss. Arch. Col.*, xiii. 217), F. *gromet*, a little groom.

gude brither, Scot., brother-in-law; on the model of F. *bon-frère*.

hampery, Suss., out of repair, F. *empiré*.

haveril, Scot., a simpleton, April fool, F. *avril*.

hodge-podge, *hochepot*, *hoggepot*, V. Dial., *hot-pot*, Liverpool, a mixture of various foods in the same pot, F. *hochepot*.

hogo, Suss., a bad smell, F. *haut goût*.

hoste, Hastings, a costermonger, a pedler, a stranger, O.F. *hoste*, a guest as well as a host.

hotch, North., to shake, to be restless; *hotchel*, Midl., to hobble, to hop; F. *hocher*.

huer, Corn., to call, as the man does who stands on the cliffs to direct the pilchard boats, F. *huer* (*le loup*).

jalouse, Scot., to suspect, F. *jalouse*.

jigot, V. Dial., hip-joint of mutton, F. *gigot*.

journey, Suss., a day's work, F. *journée* (cp. '*dezzick*').

jupe, Scot., a woman's mantle or pelisse, F. *jupe*.

keel-alley, Dev., a skittle-alley, F. *quille* + *allée*.

kickshaws, V. Dial., trivial matters, F. *quelque-chose*.

lambskinet, Shrop., all fours, F. *lansquenet*, which is from Ger. *landsknecht*.

latton, V. Dial., plate tin, F. *laiton*.

lintel, Northamp., a tare, F. *lin*.

loover, North., an opening at the top of a dovecot or chimney, F. *louvre*.

lourdy, Suss., dull, sluggish, F. *lourd*.

maunder, Suss., to grumble to one's self, F. *maudire*, to curse.

metch, North., to snuff a candle, F. *mêche*.

misheron, Suss., a mushroom, F. *mousseron*.

multiplepoinding, a Scotch law term, similar to the English bill of interpleader in Chancery, F. *multiplier* + *poindre*.

multure, *mouter*, Scot., fee for grinding corn, F. *mouture*.

musard, Dev., a fool, F. *musard*.

napery, Suss., linen, table linen, F. *nappe.*

ni, Suss., nest of pheasants, O.F. *ni*, F. *nid.*

nottable, Suss., thrifty (always applied to females), F. *notable.*

parly, Suss., to talk unintelligibly, F. *parler.*

parpoint, Craven, a wall in which the stones stand on their edges, F. *pierre à point.*

pastime, Suss., employment of some kind to pass away the time, not necessarily amusement only, as in English, F. *passer* + *temps.*

peek, *peak*, Suss., to fret :—

> 'Weary seven nights, nine times nine,
> Shall he dwindle, peak, and pine.'—MACBETH, i. 3.

F. *piqué.*

peel, V. Dial., the shovel used by bakers in putting bread into the oven, F. *pelle.*

percer, Suss., a blacksmith's punch, F. *percer.*

petergrievous, Suss., fretful, F. *petit grief.*

petticoat-tail, Scot., short-bread cakes, O.F. *petites gatelles*, F. *petits gâteaux.*

poach, Suss., to tread holes in moist ground as cattle do, F. *pocher*, to thrust.

possing, Lanc., pushing and knocking combined, F. *pousser.*

purl, Norf., to 'rib' in knitting, F. *parfiler.*

quiddy ? Suss., what do you say ? F. *que dis-tu ?*

quinet, Glouc., a wedge, F. *coin.*

raff, Kent., to plunder, F. *rafer.*

ratchel, Derb., gravelly stone; *ratcher*, Lanc., a rock; F. *rocher.*

ruckle, *rickle*, Scot., *ruck*, North., a heap, F. *recueil.*

rue, Suss., a row, F. *rue.*

scallion, Lanc., a kind of wild onion, N.F. *ascallon.*

seine, Suss., a large sea-net, F. *seine.*

servite, *servet*, Scot., a table napkin, F. *serviette.*

simnel, Shrop., a kind of cake, A.N. *simenel*, from the Teutonic.

spice, Suss., a slight attack of any sickness, F. *espèce.*

stive, Somer., to keep warm, N.F. *estuver*, F. *étuve.*

sturdy, Craven, water on the brain, N.F. *estourdi*, F. *étourdi.*

sullage, Suss., a sediment; F. *souiller*, to soil.

talwood, Suss., wood made into faggots; F. *tailler*, to cut, (cp. *Tailleboys*).

terrier, Suss., a land survey, F. *terre*.
trencher, V. Dial., a wooden plate, F. *trancher*.

valiant, Suss., stout, strongly built, F. *vaillant*.
verity (*chair of*), Scot., the pulpit, F. *la chaise de vérité*.
vert, Suss., green (used in place-names), F. *vert*.
vester, Somer., a small pointer of wire used in teaching children to read out of printed books, N.F. *festre*.
vivers, Suss., fish ponds, F. *vivier*.
vizzy, Scot., an aim with a gun, F. *visée*.

wallets, *valises*, Scot., saddle-bags, F. *valise*.

This list of French words used by peasants need not astonish us. They also use *face*, *dress*, *pass*, *flower*, *river*, *voice*, and a hundred other Romance terms just as familiarly as we do. The provincial words and the familiar literary words alike prove the *thoroughness* of the Norman revolution.

But it was not alone in vocabulary that Anglo-Saxon became mixed. *The grammar became corrupted.*

If we were to compare a modern German grammar with a grammar of Old High German, we should find some differences, it is true, but in the main the two would be the same; German is still a highly inflected language. But an Anglo-Saxon grammar has few points of resemblance with modern English, and yet it cannot be denied that the one is a copy of the other, blurred certainly, but still a copy. But why blurred? Is it not because the whole spirit of our grammar has ceased to be Teutonic? It has become Romance in spirit, and the circumstances of its existence considered, it could not well be otherwise. From 1066 to 1362 English was not taught as a branch of education, but was discouraged in every way. Children learned their Latin through French; they construed into French from Latin, and back again into French, and if any of them ventured to do otherwise the pains and penalties of the Conqueror's law were held before them as a warning. When this disqualification was taken off English it made rapid strides; but shortly afterwards the revival of learning took place, and all the influence of edu-

cation, of learning, of promotion in Church and State, and in any profession, was thrown into the scale once more against English studies, and our kings, princes, churchmen, statesmen, and soldiers—nay, their wives and daughters too—could express themselves more elegantly in Latin than in their own tongue, and it was only with the rise of our stage under Shakspere and his contemporaries that the English language began to make itself felt as a power in the land.

Norman French was but little more inflected than modern French, and it first acted on the Anglo-Saxon grammar by depreciating those changes at the end of roots. Prepositions had been found to answer in French instead of declension, and auxiliaries did the work of conjugation, while arrangement and emphasis were depended upon to give clearness.

In French, grammar had been much depreciated, and when this language, so depreciated, was brought to bear on Anglo-Saxon, the result was as might have been expected. English has less grammatical structure than French; in fact, in it grammar has been reduced almost to a minimum.

Words in English are often formed on compound models, a Teutonic and a Romance. Take the words *transhipment*, *cut-purse*, *pickpocket*, *swash-buckler*, *legatee*, *trustee*, *enlightenment*, *righteous*, and *wondrous*. *Tranship* cannot be exactly expressed in Teutonic; *unship* has a different meaning. In German we meet with the same difficulty; *umladung* (unlading) is not exactly *tranship*, and therefore 'to unload one ship and place the goods on another' is expressed by 'aus einem Schiffe ins andere laden.' For *transhipment* the Germans are obliged to rest content with *umladung*, for even they shrink from forming a compound word expressing 'the-action-of-transferring-goods-from-one-ship-to-another.' How neat are tranship, transhipment, in comparison! This word *transhipment* is also in French expressed by the hybrid *transbordement*.

Similar remarks might be made more or less forcibly concerning the words *cut-purse*, *pickpocket*, *swash-buckler*, *legatee*, *trustee*, *enlightenment*, *righteous*, *wondrous*, and a host of others, in which a neat term, mongrel though it be,

is found much more serviceable than a native word; and yet our Teutonic scholars are every day lamenting that we cannot return to the Anglo-Saxon principles of forming compounds. The right of using such breaknecks as *landeshauptmannschaft*, *königlichsächsischeroberpostmeister*, and *zündlochschraubmaschinenbauanstalt* is an advantage which we do not appreciate as we should have done if after 1066 our land had not ceased to be 'eine deutsche Insel,' as the German school of philology insists that it was and is.

We therefore avoid all these compounds, and we find that the Romance method of expressing such ideas is not only more conformable to the present spirit of our language, but is also more practical, because we are not so liable to be tripped up in the pronunciation. 'County-representation-amendment-act' will not find such favour as an 'act for the amendment of the representation of counties,' though it must be said that the Teutonists are making strong efforts to introduce the monstrosity. As, however, the German language is, for reasons which need not be mentioned, just now in great favour, we have numbers of such words in general use, but they are still, as it were, strange to us, and Carlyle, their great advocate and introducer, powerful as he is as a writer, has in consequence ever been regarded as more German than English in style.

The English shows more inclination to form new words on a Romance model than to pile word upon word in the Teutonic style. Thus we get *tidal wave* instead of *tide-wave*, though we still keep our older *tide-waiter*; *postal regulations* instead of *post office regulations*; *submarine cable* instead of *under-sea cable*, and so on. This adjectival ending, though it produces many hybrids, is preferred because it seems to round the words off and make them flow more readily one into the other.

The English language has formed many hybrids on the plan of noun + noun, as *lord-lieutenant*, *earl-marshal*, &c.; but this, which is strictly a barbarism, is perhaps owing to the fact that French, though not possessing many compounds

on the plan of noun + noun, still has a few, such as *lieutenant-colonel*, *oiseau-mouche*, and thus before people troubled themselves about grammar such compounds, if found convenient, would be adopted.

Undoubtedly when we coin a new word we should first of all be careful that prefix, root, and suffix are all of one language in their origin; but practically we disregard the rule, and that not seldom, but very frequently.

That our language is mixed, and not merely a vocabulary of several speeches which can never coalesce, is shown by the great number of hybrids, and accordingly the following additional examples are offered:—

1. With Teutonic root:—*The majority of plurals in s-*; also, *eatable*, *drinkable*, *laughable*, *readable*, *unmistakable*, *goddess*, *shepherdess*, *murderess*, *huntress*, *songstress*, *blustrous*, *burdenous*, *murderous*, *wondrous*, *ravenous*, *hindrance*, *furtherance*, *forbearance*, *bondage*, *cartage*, *stowage*, *tonnage*, *poundage*, *forebodement*, *endearment*, *atonement*, *wonderment*, *knavery*, *midwifery*, *oddity*, *streamlet*, *smicket*, *talkative*, *endear*, *enthral*, *embolden*, *disbelief*, *disburden*, *rekindle*, *relight*, *retake*, *reseat*, *clothier*, *lawyer*, *collier*, &c.

2. With Romance roots:—*Humoursome*, *tendsome*, *quarrelsome*, *cumbersome*, *venturesome*, *ireful*, *fateful*, *artful*, *useful*, *merciful*, *bountiful*, *grateful*, *causeless*, *nerveless*, *artless*, *motionless*, *merciless*, *useless*, *graceless*, *harmless*, *falsehood*, *priesthood*, *martyrdom*, *dukedom*, *freedom*, *popedom*, *crudely*, *firmly*, *rudely*, *aptly*, *closely*, *strictly*, *politely*, *fixedly*, *durably*, *voraciously*, *fatally*, *spontaneously*, *valiantly*, *presently*, *sensibly*, *publicly*, *spherically*, *vividly*, *servilely*, *passively*, *pompously*, *superfluously*, *roundly*, *savagely*, *immenseness*, *factiousness*, *savageness*, *irefulness*, *fatefulness*, *artfulness*, *usefulness*, *mercifulness*, *bountifulness*, *gratefulness*, *bishopric*, *apprenticeship*, *suretiship*, *napkin*, *sottish*, *foolish*, *feverish*, *slavish*, *brutish*, *besieye*, *because*, *bepowder*, *undervalue*, *underprice*, *underact*, *unfortunate*, *unstable*, *ungraceful*, *unmerciful*, *unbountiful*, *ungrateful*, *overturn*, *overvalue*, *overcurious*, *overmerciful*, *overbountiful*, *overgrateful*, *overvalue*, *overrate*, *forfend*, *forprise*,

banish, burnish, embellish, punish, flourish, perish, furnish, nourish, finish, banishment, embellishment, punishment, nourishment, forfend, afterpiece, afterpains, outface, outprize, uptrain, misform, misuse, misdate, misjoin, misjudge, uncertain, unchaste, unchastely, undetermined, unlawfully, unceasingly, unsavoury, flowery, &c. &c.

Whatever reason there may be for the statement that a a simple mixture of vocabulary does not in itself constitute a mixed language there can be no such reason brought against hybrids. The question is not whether hybrids are elegancies or barbarisms, but simply do they prove the existence of mixed languages? To this there can scarcely be any other answer than an affirmative.

English possesses great facilities for composing words by means of prefix and suffix.

The Teutonic prefixes and suffixes, without counting those which, like *th* in *faith*, have become inseparable from the root, are fifty in number; we have sixty-one from Latin and thirty-six from French. The Greek may be disregarded here because they are mostly confined to scientific words.

Our facilities for forming words in this way are therefore greater on the foreign than on the native side of our language, and from 'Haldeman's Affixes,' p. 16, we learn that our commonest prefixes and suffixes, with one or two exceptions, are not Teutonic. Thus:—

Prefixes.		Suffixes.	
un-	5600	-ly	200
co,- con-, com-	2400	-ion	1900
in-, im-	2900	-ness	1300
re-	2200	-al	1000
di-, dis-	1800	-er	950
e-, ex-	1750	-ous	900
ad-	1600	-ble	800
de-	1600	-ity	650
sub-	700	-ary, &c.	600
pre-	700	-ance, -ence	600
pro-	600	-ant, -ent	500
per-	350	-ive	400
	22,200		11,600

An examination of this table will show how much we are indebted to foreign sources for the composition of our vocabulary; and as the formation of words is an acknowledged portion of grammar, the mixed character of our speech is at once apparent. Haldeman also gives us the numerical value of our roots, thus :—

fac	gives	640	compounds
sta	,,	440	,,
pos	,,	300	,,
graph	,,	200	,,
log	,,	200	,,
ply	,,	200	,,
cap	,,	190	,,
drag	,,	190	,,
tain	,,	180	,,
mit	,,	175	,,
spect	,,	175	,,
vid	,,	160	,,
	Total	3050	from 12 roots, all foreign;

which still further shows our indebtedness to Romance nations. We also see that the Romance element of our language is *at least* as full of vitality as the Teutonic.

But the English language can be shown to be mixed in more points of grammar than the formation of words, whether pure or mongrel.

Many of the grammatical losses of Anglo-Saxon have already been noticed in a previous chapter; here it will only be necessary to state that these losses were understated rather than exaggerated.

Almost every portion of the grammar will furnish us with proofs of mixture, as will also our rules for the collocation of words, as well as the existence of rhyme in our poetry.

We will now proceed to notice these points, in order to test the truth of the statements quoted in the introductory pages of this essay. Professor Max Müller denies the possibility of a mixed language, while of English Dr. Morris says, '*the grammar is not mixed or borrowed, but is* ALTO-

GETHER *English*.' By English he of course means Anglo-Saxon.

1. The Teutonic character of the Anglo-Saxon gender has already been noticed. It is *ascribed*—that is, grammatical—gender. In English we have only this ascribed or grammatical gender in three or four words, except by personification. The exceptions are *sun*, *moon*, *ship*, and, according to some, *country*. In Teutonic languages *sun* is feminine, *moon* masculine, *ship* and native *country* neuter. In the Latin languages and in English the *sun* is masculine; the *moon*, all kinds of *ships*, and one's native *country* are feminine. In *sun* and *moon* the gender certainly depends on mythology, as perhaps also in *ship* and *country*. In these words, therefore, the English in thus changing the gender have thrown over more than mere grammar.

It was entirely in consequence of the Norman invasion that we lost the grammatical gender of Anglo-Saxon, for, owing to the introduction of fresh suffixes and the loss of inflections, there arose such a confusion between the masculine and feminine endings that natural gender was gradually adopted instead.

2. Among peculiar ways of marking gender we may notice:—

I. *Margrave*, *landgrave*, Teutonic words taking the Romance feminine *-ine*, just as does the Romance word *hero*—*margravine*, *landgravine*, *heroine*.

II. The Latin *-or* becomes *-ix*, as *executor*, *executrix*.

III. The Romance feminine in *-a*, as *sultana*, *signora*, *infanta*.

IV. The French feminine *-ess* (L. Lat. *-issa*), which took the place of the Teutonic *-ster*—*baroness*, *countess*, *giantess*, *mistress*, *abbess*.

V. The Norse masculine and feminine form in *he* and *she*, as *he-devil*, *she-devil*, may be mentioned here (though they do not belong to the Romance), as their use in this way only arose in the fourteenth century.

3. The Anglo-Saxon way of forming the plural has already been mentioned. The usual form was in *-n* or *-en*, and the

65027

plural in *-as* was represented by an irregular declension of but few words. The Romance plural in *-s* arose from the characteristic consonant in the Latin plural dative, accusative, and ablative, and from the French has been adopted into English. Thus every word of Saxon origin in our language may be regarded as a hybrid when changed into the plural in *-s*, e.g. *lads, thieves, tubs.*

The plural of *court-martial* and other compound words, where, after the French method, the substantive precedes the adjective, must also be noticed. Thus we have *courts-martial, men-of-war, sons-in-law*, where, as in French, it is the substantive which takes the plural. The peculiarity of this will be at once seen when we compare it with the possessive singular, which is on the Teutonic form; thus, *court-martial's decree, man-of-war's boat, son-in-law's house.* This peculiarity makes a possessive plural an impossibility.

4. It will scarcely be necessary to name the plurals of foreign words which are the same as in the original language, but such plurals as *indexes, memorandums*, &c., must be noticed, because, though they form these plurals in the English way, it is nevertheless not Anglo-Saxon in grammar, and the mixture thereby caused is, as it were, double.

5. Where two substantives come together in a compound word we usually add the plural sign to the second, but there are a few cases where we imitate the French and add it to both, as *lords-lieutenants, knights-templars, lords-justices.*

6. All words of Romance origin which are in the possessive case must in English be regarded not only as hybrids, but also as mixtures in grammar.

7. In A.S. the adjective was compared by adding *er* or *est* to the positive, but in the thirteenth century we adopted the Romance form for most words of more than one syllable, as *eloquent, more eloquent, most eloquent.*

8. The ordinal number *second* is Romance; the Anglo-Saxon form would be *other*, as we still have it in the phrase *both the one and the other.*

9. The indefinite article is also due to Romance influence, *an, a*, being developments of the numeral *one*, which

took place after the Conquest in imitation of the French *un, une.*

10. The indefinite pronoun *one* ('one says') is generally believed (though by some it is denied) to be the French *on* = *homo*; the A.S. form was *man* (*men* or *me*), Ger. *man.*

11. Our personal pronouns are now double in their arrangement; as, *this is my pen, this pen is mine*; again, *give it me, give it to me.* Thus the pronouns may be declined —

I. I, mine, me; we, ours, us.
II. Thou, thine, thee; you, yours, you.
III. He, his, him
She, hers, her } they, theirs, them.
It, its, it

which is the Anglo-Saxon arrangement; or they may be declined thus:—

I. I, of me, to me, me; we, of us, to us, us.
II. Thou, of thee, to thee, thee; you, of you, to you, you.
III. He, of him, to him, him
She, of her, to her, her } they, of them, to them, them.
It, of it, to it, it

which is the Romance arrangement —

Je, de moi, à moi, me *or* moi; nous, de nous, à nous, nous, &c.

12. When we say '*the which*' we imitate the French use of *lequel.* This is, besides, a very common vulgarism.

13. The indefinite pronouns *divers* and *certain* are respectively the O.F. *divers* and the L. *certus.*

14. Verbs are usually the most conservative words of a language, and in English they present no exception to this general rule. Nevertheless Norman French influence can be traced even here. Thus every verb of foreign root is not only a hybrid, but also a mixture of grammar when added to a Teutonic inflection by way of conjugation; thus, *transcrib-est, transcrib-eth, transcrib-es, transcrib-ed, transcrib-edst, transcrib-ing.*

15. The termination of the third singular of the present

tense in *-s*, instead of the older *-th*, has already been mentioned as the result of the Norman French malpronunciation of the difficult sound of *-th*, and therefore, if not exactly a mixture in grammar, it is at least one in pronunciation.

16. The general depreciation of the strong verb is partly owing to the natural decay of language, but in English this process has gone on much faster than in German, Dutch, Danish, or Swedish, and this because of the introduction by the Norman Conquest of a number of verbs which necessarily swelled the ranks of those which were conjugated after the weak model. This has increased the tendency of our verbs to lose their strong conjugation.

17. The use of auxiliary verbs instead of conjugation, as, for example, in the subjunctive, is also a result of the natural decay of language, which has been hastened by the Romance invasion.

18. The use of the auxiliary *do*, in imitation of *faire*, is very strongly French, for in Anglo-Saxon and other Teutonic languages it can only be a principal verb.

19. The formation of verbs by the addition of F. *-fier*, Lat. *-ficare*, *-facere*, e.g. *beauty*, *beautify*, is driving out the Teutonic method, *be-dizzen*, *be-smear*. Another favourite method is the Fr. *-iser*, Gr. *-ιζω*, e.g. *finish*; also Fr. *-er*, L. *-are*, e.g. *parley*, &c.

20. We have adopted a great number of Romance prepositions; as, *per*, *versus*, *sans* (sine), *across*, *viâ*, *because*, *apropos of*, *by means of*, *by reason of*, *by virtue of*, *in accordance with*, *in addition to*, *in case of*, *in comparison to*, *in compliance with*, *in consequence of*, *in defiance of*, *in spite of*, *in favour of*, *in front of*, *in lieu of*, *in opposition to*, *on the point of*, *in quest of*, *with regard to*, *in reply to*, *with reference to*, *in respect of*, *in search of*, *on account of*, *on the plea of*, *with a view to*, *agreeably to*, *exclusive of*, *inclusive of*, *maugre*, *minus*, *previous to*, *relatively to*, *around*, *round*, *round about*, *during*, *pending*, *according to*, *barring*, *bating*, *concerning*, *considering*, *excepting*, *facing*, *including*, *passing*, *regarding*, *respecting*, *aiding*, *tending*, *touching*, *except*, *excepted*, *past*, *save*.

21. The use of the preposition *of* is French in nearly every instance, being nothing more than a translation of the French *de*. The Saxon *of* is now *from*. In the older forms of the language it was even more frequently French than now, as may be seen from the Bible and from Shakspere. The same may be said of this preposition in combination, as *along of* (auprès de), which in Saxon English should be *along on*.

22. The *father's pet* has no difference in meaning from *the pet of the father*. The former is the Saxon use, the latter French. In the same way our dative, accusative, and ablative have been replaced by an objective with a preposition in imitation of the French, and consequently we have no true declension except the possessive in *'s*.

23. The frequent use of the preposition before the infinitive is also French.

24. In the Teutonic languages the preposition attendant on a neuter verb can often be placed away from the verb, and may even be the last word in a sentence. These separable compound verbs have lost this power of separating in English, and we are told never under any circumstances to conclude a sentence with a preposition. This is also French; the contrary was Anglo-Saxon.

25. Of interjections the following are Romance:—*Ah! oh! O! alas! O dear me! (?) heigh! aha! pugh! harow! silence!*

26. The rhythm of English has ceased to be Teutonic, and it is probable that it is about halfway between Anglo-Saxon and French.

27. Rhyme has been introduced into English in imitation of the Norman and Provençal poems; for before our poets were acquainted with these literatures they either contented themselves with alliteration, or, if they did attempt rhyme, it was nothing but the ingenious putting together of words. The first true rhyming poems were written about 1100. The front-rhyming or alliteration of the Anglo-Saxon is still one of the beauties of English verse when used with judgment.

28. The double negative of the Londoners is also regarded as a French innovation.

29. Thus it will be seen that the French grammar has left its mark on almost every portion of ours. But to these foreign words, to these hybrid words, and to these grammatical changes we will now add another and most important point, *the collocation of words*. With regard to this a few specimens will be of more service than whole pages of descriptions:—

I. *From the New Testament* (*Matthew vii.* 27).

Anglo-Saxon.—Þa rinde hyt and þaer com flod, and bleowan windas, and abruron on þaet hus: and þaet hus feoll, and hys hryre was mycel.

Luther.—Da nun ein Platzregen fiel, und kam ein Gewässer, und weheten die Winde, und stieszen an das Haus; da fiel es, und that einen groszen Fall.

Dortrecht.—En de slagregen is nedergevallen, en de waterstroomen zijn gekomen, en de winden hebben gewaaid, en zijn tegen hetzelve huis aangeslagen en het is gevallen, en zijn val was groot.

Danish.—Og en Skylregn nedfaldt, og Vandlebene kom, og Vindene bloeste og stødte an paa samme Huus, og det faldt, og dets Fald var stort.

Ostervald.—Et la pluie est tombée, et les torrents se sont débordés, et les vents ont soufflé, et sont venus fondre sur cette maison-là; ello est tombée, et sa ruine a été grande.

Wicklif.—And rain come down and floodis camen and windis blewen and thei hurliden in to that house; and it felle down, and the fallyng down thereof was grete.

Tyndal.—And abundance of rayne descended, and the fluddes came, and the wyndes blewe, and beet upon that housse, and it fell, and great was the fall of it.

Authorised.—And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it. [*Modern*: and its fall was great.]

II. *From Cædmon* (died 680; MS. of 737).

Nu scylun hergan	Now we shall praise
Hefaen ricaes uard	heaven kingdom's warden
metudæs mæcti	creator's might
end his mod gidanc	and his mind's thought

uerc uuldur fader	man's glory-father
sue he uundra gihuaes	how he of wonders each
eci drictan	eternal Lord
or astelidæ, &c.	beginning formed, &c.

III. *Lord's Prayer.*—Fæder ure, þu þe eart on heofenum; si þin nama gehalgod; tobecume þin rice; geweorðe þin willa on eorþan, swa swa on heofenum. Urne ge dæghwamlican hlaf syle us to-dæg; and forgyf us ure gyltas, swa swa we forgifað urum gyltendum; and ne gelæde þu us on costnunge, ac alys us of yfle.

IV. *From 'Le Livere de Reis de Engletere.'*—E tost a pres kant il avoit del tut fet sujet a lui le rei de Escoce Kinnadie, e autre vii., des queus furent aucons reitels de Wales, il tint une grant curt a Karlioun et la prist serement de eus tut a une foiz. E pus se mist ou eus en une nef, en la rivere de Ohe, comme pur jwer, e il meimes sist a governail a governa la nef; e dist en soen deduit ke les reis Engletere, ki vendreint a pres lui ben se porreient dire reis, pus ke il governa en une nef tanz de reis ki furent alui sugez.

V. *Stat.* 36, *Ed. III., cap.* 15 [A.D. 1362].

Item, pur ce qe monstre est souventfoitz au Roi par prelatz, ducs, counts, barons, & tout la communalte les grantz mes-chiefs qe sont advenuz as plusours du realme de ce qe les leyes, custumes, et estatutz du dit realme ne sont pas conuz commenement en mesme le realme, par cause qils sont pledez, monstrez, & judgez en la lange Franceis, qest trop disconue en le realme, issint qe les gentz qe pledent ou sont empledez en les courtz del Roi & les courtz dautres nont entendement ne conissance de ce qest dit pur eulx ne contre eulx par lour sergeantz & autres pledours, & qe resonablement les dites leyes & custumes serront le plus tost apris & conuz & mieultz

Item, because shown is oftentimes to the King by prelates, dukes, counts, barons, & all the commonalty the great mischiefs which are happened to many of the realm because the laws, customs, and statutes of the said realm are not known commonly in same the realm, for reason that they are pleaded, showed, & judged in the language French, which is too unknown in the said realm, so that the people that plead or are impleaded in the courts of the King & the courts of others not have understanding nor knowledge of that which is said for them nor against them by their serjeants and other pleaders, & that reasonably the said laws & customs shall be the more soon learned and known & better

entenduz en la lange usee en le dit realme, & par tant
understood in the language used in the said realm, & by so much
chescun du dit realme se purroit mieultz governer sanz
every man of the said realm himself may better govern without
faire offense a la leye, & le mieultz garder, sauver, & defendre
to do offence to the law, & the better keep, save, & defend
ses heritages & possessions; & en diverses regions & paiis
his heritages & possessions; & in divers regions & countries
ou le Roi, les nobles, & autres du dit realme ont este est
where the King, the nobles, & others of the said realm have been, is
bon governement & plein droit fait a chescun, par cause qe
good governance & full right done to everyone, because that
lour leyes & custumes sont apris & usez en la lange
their laws & customs are learned & used in the language
du paiis: Le Roi, desirant le bon governement & tran-
of the country: The king, desiring the good government & tran-
quillite de son poeple, & de ouster & eschune les maulx & mes-
quillity of his people, & of ousting & eschewing the evils & mis-
chiefs qe sont advenuz & purront avenir en ceste partie
chiefs that are happened & may happen in this behalf
ad pur les causes sus-dites, ordeigne & establi, del assent
by the causes aforesaid, ordains & establishes, with the assent
avant dit, qe toutes plees qe serront a pleder en ces courtz
before said, that all pleas that shall be to plead in these courts
queconques, devant ses justices queconques ou en ses autres places
whatsoever, before his justices whatsoever, or in his other places
ou devant ses autres ministres queconques, ou en les courtz &
or before his other ministers whatsoever, or in the courts &
places des autres seignurs qeconques deinz le realme soient
places of the other lords whatsoever in the realm may
pledez, monstretz, defenduz, responduz, debatuz, & juggez en
be pleaded, shown, defended, answered, debated, & judged in
la lange Engleise, & qils soient entreez & enroullez en
the language English, & that they may be entered & enrolled in
Latin & qe les leyes & custumes du dit realme, termes &
Latin, & that the laws & customs of the said realm, terms &
processes, soient tenuz & gardez come ils sont & ont este
processes, may be held & kept as they are & have been
avant ces heures, & qe per les aunciens termes & formes de
before these hours, & that by the ancient terms & forms of
counter nul homme soit perdant, issint qe la matiere en
declaration no man may be prejudiced, so that the matter in
la demonstrance & en le brief. Et est accorde del assent
the demonstration & in the brief. And it is accorded with the as-

avant dit qe cestes ordeignances & estatuz de pleder
sent aforesaid that these ordinances & statutes of pleading
comencent & tiegnent lieu al quinzeine Seint Hiller
begin & hold place at the fifteenth Saint Hilary
prochein avenir.
next approaching.

From these extracts it is very apparent that the arrangement of words in a sentence is more Romance than Teutonic, more Norman than Saxon, in the English language. The inversion of sentences so common in German can only be used for particular purposes in English, and is more a matter of rhetoric than of grammar; the pushing of the predicate to the end of a sentence is inadmissable with us, and so also is the disruption between a neuter verb and its attendant preposition. On the other hand, the place of the adjective and the use of the present participle are more Teutonic. Thus we see that though in the main our words follow the French order in a sentence, yet we have enough of the Teutonic order left to warrant us in saying that the arrangement of sentences alone would prove English to be a mixed speech.

In noticing the French element of English we must not forget the other Romance tongues.

Italian has contributed about 100 words, principally terms of music and art—*catso, catzerie, gazette, junket, lavolta, lava, volcano, contraband, bout, botch, counterscarp, carpet, tapeto, tarantula, cinquecento, caroche, stoccado, reverso, punta riversa, stramazorm, embroil, sack* (wine), *punch, pantaloon, milliner, fork, umbrella, porcelain, brave, balustrade, bandit, bust, canto, carnival, charlatan, domino, ditto, dilettante, folio, grotto, harlequin, motto, portico, scaramouch, stanza, stiletto, stucco, studio, tenor, vista,* &c.

The lingua franca or bastard Italian of the Mediterranean has supplied a considerable number of words to the London dialect, or rather slang. The costermongers and others who have had much intercourse with sailors have adopted many peculiar terms—to *levant*, to be off to the Levant, and *levanter*, a defaulting gambler gone to the Levant to avoid payment; *lingo*, from *lingua; madza*, a half, from

mezzo, as *madza-caroon*, half-a-crown; *madza-poona*, half-a sovereign; *madza-saltee*, a half-penny: *saltee*, a penny, from *soldo*; *uney saltee*, one penny, from *uno soldo*; *dooe saltee*, twopence, from *due soldi*; *tray saltee*, threepence, from *tre soldi*; *quaterer soldi*, fourpence, from *quattro soldi*; *chinker saltee*, fivepence, from *cinque soldi*; *say saltee*, sixpence, from *sei soldi*; *setter saltee*, sevenpence, from *sette soldi*; *otter saltee*, eightpence, from *otto soldi*; *nobba saltee*, ninepence, from *nove soldi*; *dacha saltee*, tenpence, from *dieci soldi*; *dacha-one saltee*, elevenpence; but we have *oney beong*, one shilling, from the F. *bien*. The numbers from seven sometimes, however, run thus: *say-ooney*, *say-dooe*, *say-tray*, *say-quaterer*, and *say-chinker*. One shilling and sixpence is *beong say saltee*; two shillings and sixpence, *dooe beong say saltee*, or *madza-caroon*; and a crown is *caroon*. *Mungarly*, bread, is from *mangiar*, to eat; *casa*, *case*, *casey*, is from *casa*, a house; *mungarly casa* is a baker's shop; *pannem*, bread, is from *pannen*; *nantee*, nothing, from *niente*; *nantee palaver* is 'hold your tongue,' *palaver* being a corruption of *parler*; *commission*, a shirt, and its abbreviation *mish* is from *camicia*; *catever*, *kertever*, a queer affair, from *cattivo*, bad; *dinarly*, money, from *denaro*; *nantee dinarly*, penniless, from *niente denaro*; *scarper*, to elope, from *scappare*; to *scarper with the feele of the donna of the casey*, is *scappare colla figlia della donna della casa*; and *fogle*, a pocket-handkerchief, is from the Italian slang *foglia*, a pocket.

Spanish words began to be introduced in the time of Philip and Mary. Thus we obtained *huff*, *gambadoes*, *gambol*, *gammon*, *viol de gamba*, *ganch*, *ladrone*, *jalap*, *sherry*, *alert*, *barracks*, *stevadore*, *embargo*, *hurricane*, *tornado*, *bilboes*, *desperado*, *toledo*, *alligator*, *armada*, *cargo*, *cigar*, *don*, *flotilla*, *gala*, *mosquito*, *punctilio*. In the Sussex dialect we have *gaberdine*, and in the Cornish *caridad*, benevolence, and *fumades*, a hogshead of pilchards, from *fumados*.

From Portuguese we have *commodore*, *caste*, *palaver*, and *fetish*.

§ 8. *On English Pronunciation.*

English having been proved to be a mixed language in vocabulary and grammar, it now remains to examine the pronunciation.

Our Teutonic roots usually take a Low rather than a High German pronunciation.

As our alphabet is Roman and not Saxon, it is be presumed that the earliest written examples of our language were phonetic, and that therefore Anglo-Saxon is to be pronounced as written. English was always written phonetically, until the great writers of the Elizabethan era fixed it authoritatively; but since this time the orthography and the pronunciation have not kept pace with each other.

But Anglo-Saxon being phonetic, the difference between its pronunciation and that of High German (which is still very correctly represented in writing) is at once discernible, and the Anglo-Saxon will be seen in a vast majority of instances to have followed the same laws of change as other Low German Languages—Dutch (as being the most cultivated), for instance.

But it must be remarked in this comparison that the resemblance in the case of consonants is much nearer than with vowels, a fact which will be accounted for further on.

I. Vowels.

High Ger. *au.*

Ger.	Dut.	A.S.	Eng.
rauh	ronw	hruh	rough
treu (trauen)	trouw	treowe	true
schau	schouw	sceaw-ian	show
glaube	geloof	gelyf	belief
haupt	hoofd	heafod	head
lauf	loop	hleap	leap, loper
auge	oog	eage	eye
rauch	rook	rec	reek
braun	bruin	brun	brown
laut	luid	hlud	loud
haut	huid	hyde	hide

Ger.	Dut.	A.S.	Eng.
aus	uit	ut	out
zaun	tuin	tun	town
baum	boom	beam	boom, beam
faust	vuist	fyst	fist

High Ger. *eu.*

beugen	buigen	bugan	bow
[kreuch] kriech	kruipen	créopan	creep
theuer	duur	derian	dear
[heuern] häuern	huur	hyran	hire
scheuer	schuur	scyr-an	scour
feuer	vuur	fýr	fire

High Ger. *auer.*

sauer	zuur	sur	sour
bauer	na-buur	neah-bur	neigh-bour

High Ger. *ei.*

schweig	zwijg-en	swic-an	
treiben	drijven	dryf-an	drive
gleich	gelijk	gelic	like
beil	bijl	bill	bill
eisen	ijser	isern, iren	iron
reif	rijp	rip	ripe
heiz-en	heet	hæt	heat
schweisz	zweet	swæt	sweat
geist	geest	gast	ghost
leist	leest	læste	last

High Ger. *u, ü.*

buche	beuk	boc, bece	beech
lügen	leugen	legan, leogan	lie
spüren	speuren	spirian	speir, *Scot.*
küche, koch	keuchen	coc	cook
furche	vore	fyr-ian	furrow
hund	hond	hund (*excep.*)	hound
gesund	gezond	gesund (do.)	sound
sprung	sprong	sprang	sprang, sprung [(*excep.*)
bund	bond	band	bond
brunn	bron	burne (do.)	burn (*excep.*)

II. Consonants.

High Ger. *b*.

Ger.	Dut.	A.S.	Eng.
staub	stof		stuff
raub	roof	reaf-ian	reave
lieb	lief	leof, luf-ian	lief
treib	drijf	drif-an	drive

High Ger. *pf*.

stopf	stop	stopp-an	stop
karpfen	karper		carp
kopf	kop	cop	cope, cape
fuszstapf	stap	stœppan	step
pfahl	paal	pal	pale
pfad	pad	paŏ	path
pfeife	pijp	pip	pipe

High Ger. *f*.

Only the West Saxon dialects of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon follow the rule of Low German.

Ger.	Dut.	A.S.	Eng.	Wessex.
fasz	vat	fæt, fat	vat, fat	vat
fahrt	vaart	far-an	fare	vare
fall	val	feall-an	fall	vall
falsch	valsch	false	false	valse
feder	veder	feþer	feather	veather
fecht	vecht-en	feohtan	fight	vight
feind	vijand	feond	fiend	viend
fisch	visch	fisc	fish	vish
futter	voeder	fodre	fodder	vodder

But if not initial, the change is regular in A.S. and E.

Ger.	Dut.	A.S.	Eng.
laufen	loopen	leapan	leap
taufen	doopen	dippan	dip
hauf	hoop	heap	heap
reif	rijp	rípe	ripe
schlafen	slapen	slæpan	sleep
offen	open	open	open
raffen	rapen	reafian	rape

High Ger. *ch.*

Ger.	Dut.	A.S.	Eng.
reich	rijk	ric	rich
rauchen	rooken	recan	reek

High Ger. *cht* is more guttural in Low Ger., and though well represented in A.S., is only known in the writing in Mod. Eng.

recht	regt	riht	right
leicht	ligt	leoht	light
macht	magt	mihte	might

High Ger. *chs* preserves its sound in A.S. and Eng., but in Low Ger. is *s*.

achse	as	æx	axe
wachs	was	wac	wax
sechs	ses	six	six
flachs	vlas	fleax	flax
ochse	os	oxa	ox
fuchs	vos	fox	fox

High Ger. *schw.*

schweisz	zweet	swæt	sweat
schwarz	zwart	swært	swart
schwert	zwaard	sweord	sword
schwimmen	zwimmen	swimman	swim
schwester	zuster	sweoster	sister

High Ger. *sch.*

schlitten	slede	slecg	sledge
schmerz	smaart	smeort	smart
schmied	smid	smið	smith

High Ger. *s*, *ss*.

sattel	zadel	sadl	saddle
so	zoo	swa	so
sünde	zonde	synne	sin
sollen	zullen	sceal	shall
rassel	ratelen	hrethian (=rate)	rattle
beissen	bijten	bitan	bite
wissen	wijten	witan	wit

High Ger. *th*, *t*.

Ger.	Dut.	A.S.	Eng.
theuer	duur	deor	dear
thun	doen	don	do
thier	dier	deor	deer
thür	deur	dora	door
thal	dal	dal	dale
thau	dauw	deaw	dew
muth	moed	mód	mood
roth	roede	read	red
trinken	drinken	drincan	drink
tag	dag	dæg	day

High Ger. *z*, *sz*.

zahn	tand	tóþ	tooth
zehe	ta	ta	toe
zahl	tal	tælian	tale
zahm	tam	tam-ian	tame
zeig	teeken	tæcen	token
zeit	tijd	tid	tide
zinn	tin	tin	tin
grosz	groot	great	great
grusz	groet	gretan	greet
fasz	vat	fæt	fat, vat
essen (=eszen)	eten	etan	eat

High Ger. *lt*, *lz*.

alt	oud	eald	old
kalt	koud	ceald	cold
falte	vouw	feald	fold
schulter	schouder	sculder	shoulder
malz	mout	mealt	malt

The A.S. and E. will be seen in most of these examples of consonantal changes to follow the Low German or Dutch, though there are several exceptions, especially with the letters *f* and *s*, which are well pronounced by the English, and in a way which may be regarded as almost peculiar.

Whitney has pointed out that our orthography, owing to our foreign elements, is often very discordant, because of the different systems we have adopted. The differences in the *ch—church*, *chivalry*, *Christian*—will serve to illustrate

this. The letter *z* is not Anglo-Saxon, but Romance, and has displaced the *s*, which was Anglo-Saxon, in such words as *dizzy* (*dysig*), and *freeze* (*freosan*). The Anglo-Saxon hard *c* has under Norman influence become *ch*; thus, A.S. *cele*, *cese*, *cin*, *cild*, are now *chill*, *cheese*, *chin*, *child*. The letter *g* is not a favourite one with the French, and under Norman influence it has disappeared from numerous words—*gelic*, *fæger*, *hægel*, *twegen*, &c., have become *like*, *fair*, *hail*, *twain*—or it has, under the same influence, been softened to *w*, *ge* (=*j*), or *ch*, as from *lagu*, *cringan*, *ortgeard*, we get *law*, *cringe*, *orchard*. The letter *h* has through French influence suffered much mishandling, being left out in numerous places where it should be used, not only in the spoken but in the written language (see 'Anglo-Saxon Element,' ¶ 8).

The consonants of A.S., with the exception of *c*, being hard, were much the same in power as ours, but *j*, *k*, *q*, *v*, and *z* were wanting. *J* was introduced to represent French sounds; *k* was introduced to represent the hard sound of *c*, after the native *c* had been assimilated to the softer French letter; *qu* was the French method of representing the same sound as Saxon *cw*; *v* was introduced by the French; and *z* is still so scarce in English that it is not found commencing any native word except *zinc*.

But the present English vowels are not those of the Anglo-Saxon, in which language *a* had the power of *ah*, *æ* of *aie*, *e* of *aie*, *i* of *ee*, *o* of *o*, *u* of *ooh*, and *y* of *i* short.

The generic change of English vocables dates from the Norman Conquest, before which time our pronunciation was entirely Low German; at the Conquest another system was introduced, and went side by side with the native until in the twelfth century they became mixed together. It will, therefore, be proper at this point to examine the Norman French pronunciation, more especially the vowel sounds.

Chaucer, ridiculing the Anglo-French which was in vogue in his time, says:—

> 'And Frenche she spake ful fetously,
> After the scole of Stratford-at-Bowe,
> For French of Paris was to her unknowe.'

But, with all due deference to the poet, it may be questioned whether Parisian French was ever spoken in this country.

That pronunciation of French which is now classical was in early times merely a dialect of the Langue d'Oyl, and stood in no better philological position than Picard, Burgundian, or Norman, being simply a variety peculiar to the Isle of France. This dialect has changed considerably. Thus, in the old poets we find the diphthongal sounds of *haine*, *roine* (*reine*), *aide*, *traître*, separated into *ha-ine*, *ro-ine*, *a-ide*, *tra-ître*; *traîner* we find decomposed into *tra-î-ner*, *eü* and *seu* into *e-u* and *se-u*, while *femme* was *feme*, pronounced *fême*, and not *fame*, as now. Very many similar instances may readily be found, but the above will suffice for illustration.

But in Normandy the pronunciation was different again, and it certainly varied as much from old French as it does now from modern Parisian—rather more so than otherwise. Now, the French introduced into this country was Norman, and when it was cut off from its parent stock by the severance of England and Normandy it remained stationary, becoming what Chaucer, who was a travelled man, contemptuously called Stratford-at-Bowe French. There can be little doubt but that we now pronounce our Romance words in much the same way as did the conquerors of Hastings.

The Anglo-Norman word *caïtiff* shows that in 1066, in the Norman dialect at least, the letter *p* had already disappeared from *captivus* (compare It. *cattivo*); but in modern French we find *captif* in the sense of *captus*, whilst in English we have both *captive* and *caitiff*, the latter in the sense of *chétif* or *cattivo*.

This disposition to contract words was early developed in the Norman. In the 'Livere de Reis' we find *advint* changed into *avint*; but perhaps in French the *d* was not pronounced, as *aviendre* soon became *avenir*. At the time of the Conquest, however, the *d* was still heard in *adventure*; the French lost it, but the stationary Anglo-Norman retained it, whence its presence in modern English. In the 'Livere de Reis' we find *ferais*, *feras*, *fera*, *ferons*, contracted into *frai*, *fras*, *frad*, *frum*. Other more modern Norman con-

tractions may be seen in the rôles of the peasants in Molière's 'Don Juan,' Act ii. The best modern representative we have of the dialect of William the Norman is probably that of the Channel Islands, which is full of contractions.

It must, however, not be forgotten that the Normans, in spite of their peculiar pronunciation, very often kept nearer the Latin than did the French. Thus in the poets we find *tal* (*talis*), *Cristian*, *Païan*, *mortal*, *candelle*, *canchon* (*chanson*, *cantatus*), *cancre*, some of which are so pronounced in modern English. In modern Norman we still have *itaï* for one of the uses of *tel* (Lat. *ita*):—

'Jamais prenne ùn itaï rustucru.'—*Chanson.*

The Burgundian and Norman dialects pronounce the French *a* as *ai*, that is, as English *a*; thus *la*, *ta*, *Champagne*, *montagne*, are *lai*, *tai*, *Champaign*, *montaign*, two of which words are pure English. Nor is modern French entirely free from the tendency to this change, for we find that the old French *amer* is now *aimer*. The old Norman house of *Granville* preferred to be called *Grainville*. In the 'Tombel de Chatrose' of the fourteenth century we find that *declare* is made to rhyme with *faire*, as it would do if pronounced in the English way. The French *age*, *usage*, were in Norman *aige*, *usaige*, which are again English. In the 'Pattes Ouaintes' of the fifteenth century we read :—

'Des mains m'aves tire lusage,
Qui est une offence mout griefve,
Si nesse pas que votre glaives,'

where *griefve* is pronounced as English *grave*. In some parts of Normandy *menger* and *chenger* are the pronunciations of *manger* and *changer*, which would be the same as the English pronunciation of *manger* and *changer*. In other parts Fr. *an* became N. *aun*, Fr. *ans* = N. *aunz*; thus, *maunder* for *mander*.

Mariage becomes Norman *mariaige*, and in Basselin we have frequent instances of this same sound, as *rivaige*, *equipaige*, *naufraige*, *voyaige*, *oraige*, *cordaige*, several of which are of exactly the same sound as in English.

Again, the French *tante* becomes in Norman *ante*, pronounced as English *aunt*.

Near Mont Saint-Michel the French *e* is pronounced *ait*; thus, *me*, *te*, *se*, become *mait*, *tait*, *sait*. The Normans usually change this vowel into *i* when it precedes *a*; thus, *créance*, *créature*, *théâtre*, become *crience*, *criature*, *thiatre*—whence vulgar English *creachure* and *the-á-tre*. In some parts *e* is changed into *ie*, as *cher*, *crêve*=*chier*, *crieve*. In others the French *e* becomes Norman *ei*; thus, in the 'Livere de Reis,' '*e il meimes sist a governail a governa la nef*.' The French *ée* is Norman *ie*; thus *chargée* is *chargie*. In the 'Roman du Mont Saint-Michel' we have—

'Que il aveit seinte*fiee*
Einz que la cendre i fust plun*gie*.'

On the contrary the French *ie* became Norman and English *i*; thus, *première*=*promire*, *Geneviève*=*Geneviive*, *bierre*=*biire*,*bire*; and in the 'Tombel de Chatrose' we read:—

'De la cité de *Cantobiere*
Fist tant qu'il appaisa sa vie.'

The English *y* final is well represented in Norman; thus *tu betifaïes* (*tu dis des bêtises*) would rhyme with *sanctifies*, and the French *envie*, as Norman *envaie*, would rhyme with English *vie*.

The English *i*—that is, French *aï*—is a very common Norman sound; thus in 'Don Juan' we have *chagraine*, *chopaine*, *Piarrot*.

There are very few English people who do not find a slight difficulty in sounding the full round *o*; Londoners especially say *ow* or *iau*. The Normans gave us this habit of saying *ou* for *o*, or *eau*. Thus in a 'Chanson' we have—

'Le loup y est venu, m'a mangé les plus *biaux*;
Puisque t'es si goulu, garde m'en donc la *piau*,
Et le bout de la queue pour mettre à mon *chapiau*,
Et le bout des quatre pattes pour faire un *chaliumiau*,
Pour faire danser les filles, à ce printemps *nouviaux*,
Les jeun's, aussi les vieilles, toutes dans un *monciau*,
Aux gentils tourdions de la fontaine lez *iau*.'

Pomme, comme, commère, are by the Normans changed into *poumme, coumme, coummère*, and *mon* into *men*—

'Ma *coummère*, aquand je dànse men cotillon fait-i-bien ?'
'Ah! vraiment oui, ma *coummère*; i va bien mûx que le mien :—

I va de ci, i va de là;
I va fort bien, ma *coummère*;
I va fort bien *coumme* i va.'—*Chanson.*

But, as if governed by contraries, the French *mouve* becomes Norman *move*, which is also English. In MS. Reg. 16, E. viii. we find sometimes *honor*, but just as often *henor*.

French *eo* becomes *io*, *ie* in Norman, and thus we get *liepard, Liepold, giographie*, and *biauté*. The French *oi*, more especially where it represents a Latin *i*, was changed into Norman *ei*; thus, *niger, noir, neir*:—

'J'avais un bel habit tout *neir*.'—*Chanson.*

Also *pisus, pois, peis*, Eng. *pea*, Var. Dial. *pay; pilus, poil, peil*, Eng. *pile*-velvet; *frigidus, froid, freid* or *fred*:—

'Gaiment j'endur'rais, pour te pllaire,
Le *fred* et l' caûd jour après jour.'—*Chanson.*

Also *digitus, doit, deit; sitis, soif, sei; Franci, François, Françeis; Dani, Danois, Daneis*; and *Angli, Anglois, Angleis*. *Franceis* occurs in the 'Chanson de Roncevaux,' and in MS. 16, E. viii. we have—

'Noel beyl bien li vin *Engleis*,
E li Gascoin, e li *Franceys*,
E l'Angevin;
Noel faït *beivere* son *veisin*.'

And again :—

'E repleni sa maison
De payn, de char e de *peison*.'

In the same way *roi* becomes *rei, roitelet reitelet*, terms which occur frequently in the 'Livere de Reis.' The Lat. *rex* is more nearly represented by *rei* than by *roi*, and in *reine* we find the old vowel, though in early French this also

had been changed into *roine*. We have also *fei*, *lei*, *seit*, *saveir*, *meité*, &c., instead of *foi*, *loi*, *soit*, *savoir*, *moitié*, &c.

The Old French *voie* was pronounced *voué*, or *way*, by the Normans, hence our English word *way*. *Oi* became *ou* in other words also; thus, *glour* for *gloire*, *miroir* for *miroir*, which latter is of course Old English *mirour*.

The Latin *u* seems early to have lost its pronunciation and to have acquired its present French sound, the real Latin vowel being represented by *ou*, *ubi* = *où*, *multum* = Old French *moult*. The French *u* becomes Norman *eu*, thus the River *Ure* becomes *Eure*. The Normans, however, had *u* or *o* where the French had *ou*. In the 'Livere de Reis' we have '*com pur jwer*,' '*e il meimes sist a governail a governer la nef*,' '*une grant curt a Karlioun*,' '*si vus devez estre*,' &c. In MS. Reg. 16, E. viii. we have '*seignors ore entendez à nus*,' '*pur quere Noel*,' '*Deu doint a tuz icels joie d'amurs*,' '*jo vus dis pur veir*,' &c. In the same way as *amour* makes *amur*, *secours* makes *secur*, whence English *secure*.

But the French *ui* is changed into Norman *uu*, accordingly *nuisible* is *nuusible*, and *suif* is *suus*. In the same way *ieux* becomes *ûx* or *uus*, thus *pieux* is *puus*, *yeux uus*, and *mieux mûx or muus*,

> 'Nous aïm'rait *mûx* être battue
> D'un bel que baisie par ùn laid.'—*Chanson.*

The French *eu* became Norman *u*; thus *bieneurée* became *bienurée*.

But after the various *i* sounds the most striking Norman vowels are *au*, *ou*, pronounced as if French *aou*; thus *soulard* becomes *saoulard*, and *chaud* becomes *caud*, pronounced *caou*:—

> 'Gaiment j'endur'rais, pour te pllaire,
> Le fred et l' *câûd* jour après jour.'—*Chanson.*

From the various extracts already given it will be apparent that the consonants are more strongly marked than in French; thus we have *endur'rais*, *pllaire*, *jeun's*, &c. The *r* of *are*, the infinitive of the first Latin conjugation, is

almost lost in the French *er*, but it is fully represented in the Norman *air*, *trouvair*. The *r* is also strongly marked in the couplet of Basselin—

'Compaignon marinier,
Grande est pleine est la mer.'

Norman *ps* was pronounced simply *s*, as in English, *psaulme* and *psautier* being simply *saulme* and *sautier*. A common English error of changing *v* into *w* may be in like manner traced to the Normans, who said *ma waye* instead of *ma voie*, and even now the Normans pronounce *je m'en vais* as *je m'en wais*. In MS. Reg. 16, E. viii. we have also '*sumes venez a wous*.'

It seems also very probable from two passages in the 'Roman de Rou'—

'En *North* alum, de *North* venum;'

and—

'*Northman* est hom de *North*—co est la verité'—

that the Normans at the time of the invasion of England had not lost their remembrance of the Teutonic rune þ. It is difficult otherwise to understand why the English, with such a large Romance element in their language, should be the only European nation who retain this difficult letter; the Spaniards preserve its sound to a certain extent: perhaps their Gothic occupation will account for this.

In glancing over the first six dozen lines of the 'Livere de Reis de Brittaine,' written about the reign of Henry III., we find the following Anglo-Norman words, all more or less similar to English:—*Secund*, *desért*, *chastel*, *egle*, *demaunda*, *respoundi*, *manere*, *certein*, *conseil*, *oune* (one), *pusnee*, *beaute*, *marie*, *noble*, *sestenir*, *curt*, *escusa*, *seignur*, *maia* (dismayed), *estat*, *lettre*, *coi*, *arive*, *joist* (rejoiced), *comaunda*, *barnage* (baronage), *welcomer*, *conquere*, *baruns*, *pusne*, *resent*, *nevous* (nephews), *prisoun*.

From the above it will perhaps be sufficiently apparent that the English method of pronouncing Romance words is Norman. So also our general pronunciation of the vowels,

which is unique and irrational. If we had had no Romance introduced into English, it is most probable we should have still pronounced our vowels as did the Anglo-Saxons.

It may perhaps not be generally understood that the French way of pronouncing many words has prevailed until very late years. Accent is one of the last national distinctions which a man loses, and however perfect he may be in a foreign language he is almost certain to be detected in that.

Our sergeants mostly pronounce *rear rank* as *rare rank*; this is the French *arrière*, and not a provincialism. *Trayson*, *sayson*, *rayson*, were old ways of pronouncing the English representatives of *trahison*, *saison*, *raison*, and so strongly was this French sound engrafted on our language that we find *tay*, *chayt*, *say*, *hate*, *ait*, *aise*, and *plaise* as common pronunciations of *tea*, *cheat*, *sea*, *heat*, *eat*, *ease*, and *please*, which constantly occur in our poets. *Poonish* is of course *punir*; *room*, *Rome*, is *Rom*; *obleege* is *obliger*; *honour* evidently retains its *u* because formerly pronounced *honoúr*; Chaucer has *aventúre*, *contrée*, *langáge*, and some dozen more words with the French accent; *contráry* is in common use now, and *desayve*, *resayve*, are also not quite obsolete, whilst *recórd* is still preserved in our law courts.

The above words are far from exhaustive, but will be enough to prove that there was a very considerable French element in our old English sounds, and to show that to this element we owe the present disparity between our vowels as written and as spoken.

CONCLUSION.

ENGLISH, then, is pre-eminently a mixed language. It defies alike the traditions of its old vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation; it studies not old theories, but modern practice, and keeps pace with the times. So remarkable is this example of English that Grimm, the father of modern philology, says of it:—

Was das gewicht und ergebniss dieser erörterungen angeht, so mag ich mit einem einzigen aber entschiedenen beispiel ihrer beinahe enthoben sein. Keine unter allen neueren sprachen hat gerade durch das aufgeben und zerrütten alter lautgesetze, durch den wegfall beinahe sämmtlicher flexionen, eine grössere kraft und stärke empfangen als die englische, und von ihrer nicht einmal lehrbaren, nur lernbaren fülle freier mitteltöne ist eine wesentliche gewalt des ausdrucks abhängig geworden, wie sie vielleicht noch nie einer anderen menschlichen zunge zu gebote stand. Ihre ganze überaus geistige, wunderbar geglückte anlage und durchbildung war hervorgegangen aus einer überraschenden vermählung der beiden edelsten sprachen des späteren Europas, der germanischen und romanischen, und bekannt ist wie im englischen sich beide zu einander verhalten, indem jene bei weitem die sinnliche grundlage hergab, diese die geistigen begriffe zuführte. Ja, die englische sprache, von der nicht umsonst auch der grösste und überlegenste dichter der neuen zeit im gegensatze zur classischen alten poesie, ich kann natürlich nur Shakespeare meinen, gezeugt und getragen worden ist. Sie darf mit vollem recht eine weltsprache heissen, und scheint gleich dem englischen volk ausersehn künftig noch in höherem masse an allen enden der erde zu walten.—GRIMM, *Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*, *p*. 52.

The testimony of so distinguished a scholar with regard to our language is conclusive. English is not only the most promising modern language, but it owes its excellencies to its very irregularities, and these in their turn are a result of that mixture in the language which places it halfway between Teutonic and Romance.

We have seen that the Teutonic element of our language is itself a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and other Low German tongues with Norse and High German. So also our Romance element is Norman; French, old and new; Spanish; Portuguese; Italian; and Lingua Franca; themselves not pure, being mixtures of Latin, Low Latin, and all kinds of German. Then there is the Greek element, the Celtic, the Asiatic, the African, and the American. *All these languages have contributed to our dictionary, many of them to our pronunciation, and some of them to our grammar.*

The English language, owing to these peculiarities of formation and of mixture, has become what it is, the most used language in the world; has produced the greatest modern authors; and has the greatest furture before it. In fine, it owes its very excellencies, all that it is, and all that it is capable of becoming, to this one fact—that it is just the contrary to what it would be if the two fundamental axioms of our foreign school of philology were true.

Surely with such an exception before us the axioms producing that exception ought to be inverted, or at least considerably modified.

We should read them thus:—

Axiom I.

In classifying languages due attention ought to be given not only to grammar, but also to arrangement, vocabulary, and pronunciation.

Axiom II.

In the presence of our civilisation, commerce, and cultivation a perfectly pure language is, so far as vocabulary and pronunciation are concerned, an impossibilty; and with regard to grammar and arrangement, mixtures are by no means impossible, though perhaps of rare occurrence. English certainly presents the case of a speech which is mixed in every point of classification, being a Teuto-Romance language.

POSTSCRIPT.

LECTURING in the Philharmonic Hall at Liverpool, December 1, 1875, Professor Blackie said that 'the most notable thing about the English language was its curious mixture, altogether made up like a plum-pudding, or like a conglomerated rock which they might see about Oban and other places, made up of fragments of different rocks. It was not of homogeneous growth, but was mixty-maxty in its character, and nothing but hotch-potch. (Loud laughter.) It was like a quilt made by a number of ladies for a bazaar, each ignorant of what the other was working as a pattern.'—Vide *Liverpool Mercury*, December 2, 1875.

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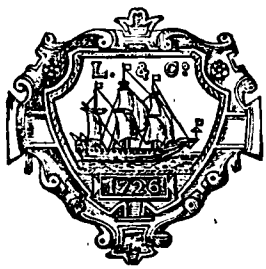

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INDEX.

PAGE

Acton's Modern Cookery 24
Alpine Club Map of Switzerland 20
Alpine Guide (The) 20
Amos's Jurisprudence 6
——— Primer of the Constitution 6
Anderson's Strength of Materials 12
Armitage's Childhood of the English Nation 4
Armstrong's Organic Chemistry 12
Arnold's (Dr.) Christian Life 17
——— Lectures on Modern History 2
——— Miscellaneous Works 8
——— School Sermons 17
——— Sermons 17
——— (T.) Manual of English Literature 8
——— Beowulf 21
Arnott's Elements of Physics 11
Atelier (The) du Lys 20
Atherstone Priory 21
Autumn Holidays of a Country Parson ... 8
Ayre's Treasury of Bible Knowledge 23

Bacon's Essays, by *Abbott* 7
——— by *Whately* 6
——— Life and Letters, by *Spedding* ... 6
——— Works 6
Bailey's Festus, a Poem 22
Bain's Mental and Moral Science 7
——— on the Senses and Intellect 7
——— Emotions and Will 7
Baker's Two Works on Ceylon 19
Ball's Guide to the Central Alps 20
——— Guide to the Western Alps 20
——— Guide to the Eastern Alps 20
Barry on Railway Appliances 12
Barry & Bramwell's Lectures on Railways and Locomotives 16
Beaconsfield's (Lord) Novels and Tales ... 20
Becker's Charicles and Gallus 20
Beesly's Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla 4
Black's Treatise on Brewing 23
Blackley's German-English Dictionary 9
Blaine's Rural Sports 22
Bloxam's Metals 12
Bolland and *Lang's* Aristotle's Politics 6
Boultbee on 39 Articles 16
Bourne's Catechism of the Steam Engine . 16
——— Handbook of Steam Engine 16
——— Treatise on the Steam Engine ... 15
——— Improvements in the same 15
Bowdler's Family *Shakespeare* 22
Bramley-Moore's Six Sisters of the Valleys . 21
Brande's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art 13

PAGE

Brassey's Voyage of the Sunbeam 19
Browne's Exposition of the 39 Articles 16
Browning's Modern England, 1820–1875 20
Buckle's History of Civilisation 2
——— Posthumous Remains 7
Buckton's Health in the House 14
Bull's Hints to Mothers 24
——— Maternal Management of Children . 24
Bullinger's Lexicon to the Greek Testament 9
Burgomaster's Family (The) 21
Burke's Vicissitudes of Families 5

Cabinet Lawyer 23
Campbell's Norway 20
Capes's Age of the Antonines 4
——— Early Roman Empire 4
Carpenter on Mesmerism, Spiritualism, &c. 7
Cates's Biographical Dictionary 5
——— and *Woodward's* Encyclopædia ... 3
Cayley's Iliad of Homer 22
Changed Aspects of Unchanged Truths ... 8
Chesney's Indian Polity 2
——— Modern Military Biography 2
——— Waterloo Campaign 3
Colenso on Moabite Stone &c. 19
———'s Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. 19
Commonplace Philosopher in Town and Country 8
Comte's Positive Polity 5
Congreve's Politics of Aristotle 6
Conington's Translation of Virgil's Æneid 22
——— Miscellaneous Writings 8
Contanseau's Two French Dictionaries ... 9
Conybeare and *Howson's* Life and Epistles of St. Paul 17
Cordery's French Revolution to the Battle of Waterloo 4
Counsel and Comfort from a City Pulpit ... 8
Cox's (G. W.) Aryan Mythology 3
——— Athenian Empire 4
——— Crusades 4
——— General History of Greece 3
——— Greeks and Persians 4
——— History of Greece 3
——— Tales of Ancient Greece ... 21
Creighton's Age of Elizabeth 4
——— England a Continental Power 20
——— Tudors and the Reformation 20
Cresy's Encyclopædia of Civil Engineering . 16
Critical Essays of a Country Parson 8
Crookes's Anthracen 16
——— Chemical Analyses 14
——— Dyeing and Calico-printing 16

PAGE

Culley's Handbook of Telegraphy 15
Curteis's Macedonian Empire 4

D'Aubigné's Reformation 18
De Caisne and *Le Maout's* Botany 13
De Tocqueville's Democracy in America... 5
Dobson on the Ox 23
Dove's Law of Storms 10
Dowell's History of Taxes 6
Doyle's (R.) Fairyland 14
Drummond's Jewish Messiah 17

Eastlake's Hints on Household Taste 15
Edwards's Rambles among the Dolomites 20
——— Nile 19
——— Year in Western France 19
Elements of Botany 13
Ellicott's Commentary on Ephesians 17
——— Galatians 17
——— Pastoral Epist. 17
——— Philippians, &c. 17
——— Thessalonians. 17
——— Lectures on Life of Christ 17
Elsa, a Tale of the Tyrolean Alps 21
Epochs of Ancient History 4
——— Modern History 4
Evans' (J.) Ancient Stone Implements ... 13
——— (A. J.) Bosnia 19
Ewald's History of Israel 18
——— Antiquities of Israel 18

Fairbairn's Application of Cast and Wrought Iron to Building... 16
——— Information for Engineers..... 16
——— Life 4
Farrar's Chapters on Language 8
——— Families of Speech 8
Finlason's Judicial System 24
Fitzwygram on Horses and Stables..... 22
Forbes's Two Years in Fiji..... 19
Frampton's (Bishop) Life 5
Francis's Fishing Book 22
Freshfield's Italian Alps 19
Froude's English in Ireland 2
——— History of England 2
——— Short Studies..... 7

Gairdner's Houses of Lancaster and York 4
Ganot's Elementary Physics 11
——— Natural Philosophy 11
Gardiner's Buckingham and Charles 2
——— Personal Government of Charles I. 2
——— First Two Stuarts 4
——— Thirty Years' War 4
Geffcken's Church and State 6
German Home Life 8
Gilbert & Churchill's Dolomites 20
Girdlestone's Bible Synonyms..... 17
Goldziher's Hebrew Mythology..... 17
Goodeve's Mechanics..... 12
——— Mechanism 12
Grant's Ethics of Aristotle 6
Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson..... 8
Greville's Journal 2
Griffin's Algebra and Trigonometry..... 12
Griffith's Behind the Veil..... 18
Grohman's Tyrol and the Tyrolese 19

PAGE

Grove's Correlation of Physical Forces ... 11
Grove (F. C.) The Frosty Caucasus 19
Gwilt's Encyclopædia of Architecture..... 15

Hale's Fall of the Stuarts..... 4
Hartley on the Air 10
Hartwig's Aerial World 12
——— Polar World 12
——— Sea and its Living Wonders ... 12
——— Subterranean World..... 13
——— Tropical World 12
Haughton's Animal Mechanics 11
Hayward's Biographical and Critical Essays 5
Heer's Primeval World of Switzerland..... 13
Heine's Life and Works, by Stigand 4
Helmholtz on Tone 11
Helmholtz's Scientific Lectures 11
Hemsley's Trees and Shrubs 13
Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy 10
Hinchliff's Over the Sea and Far Away ... 19
Hobson's Amateur Mechanic 15
Hoskold's Engineer's Valuing Assistant ... 15
Howorth's Mongols 3
Hullah's History of Modern Music 13
——— Transition Period 13
Hume's Essays 7
——— Treatise on Human Nature..... 7

Ihne's Rome to its Capture..... 4
——— History of Rome 3
Indian Alps 19
Ingelow's Poems 21

Jameson's Legends of the Saints & Martyrs 15
——— Legends of the Madonna..... 15
——— Legends of the Monastic Orders 15
——— Legends of the Saviour..... 15
Jenkin's Electricity and Magnetism..... 12
Jerrold's Life of Napoleon 2
Johnston's Geographical Dictionary..... 9
Jonson's (Ben) Every Man in his Humour 7
Jukes's Types of Genesis 18
——— on Second Death 18

Kalisch's Commentary on the Bible..... 17
Keith's Evidence of Prophecy 17
Kerl's Metallurgy, by *Crookes* and *Röhrig*. 16
Kingzett's Alkali Trade 14
——— Animal Chemistry 14
Kirby and *Spence's* Entomology 12
Kirkman's Philosophy 6
Knatchbull-Hugessen's Whispers from Fairy-Land ... 20
——— Higgledy-Piggledy 20
Kuenen's Prophets and Prophecy in Israel 17

Landscapes, Churches, &c..... 8
Latham's English Dictionaries 8
——— Handbook of English Language 8
Lawrence's Early Hanoverians 4
Lecky's History of European Morals..... 3
——— Rationalism 3
——— Leaders of Public Opinion..... 5
Lefroy's Bermudas 19
Leisure Hours in Town 8
Lessons of Middle Age 8

	PAGE
Lewes's Biographical History of Philosophy	3
Lewis on Authority	7
Liddell and *Scott's* Greek-English Lexicons	9
Lindley and *Moore's* Treasury of Botany	23
Lloyd's Magnetism	11
—— Wave-Theory of Light	11
London Series of English Classics	7
Longman's (F. W.) Chess Openings	24
—— Frederick the Great	4
—— German Dictionary	9
—— (W.) Edward the Third	2
—— Lectures on History of England	2
—— Old and New St. Paul's	15
Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture	16
—— Gardening	16
—— Plants	13
Lubbock's Origin of Civilisation	13
Ludlow's American War	4
Lyra Germanica	18
Macaulay's (Lord) Clive, by *Bowen*	7
—— Essays	1
—— History of England	1
—— Lays of Ancient Rome	14, 21
—— Life and Letters	4
—— Miscellaneous Writings	7
—— Speeches	7
—— Works	1
—— Writings, Selections from	7
McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce	9
Macfarren on Musical Harmony	15
Macleod's Economical Philosophy	6
—— Theory and Practice of Banking	24
—— Elements of Banking	24
Mademoiselle Mori	21
Malet's Annals of the Road	22
Manning's Mission of the Holy Spirit	18
Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, by *Wagner*	7
Marshall's Physiology	14
Marshman's Life of Havelock	5
Martineau's Christian Life	19
—— Hours of Thought	19
—— Hymns	18
Maunder's Biographical Treasury	23
—— Geographical Treasury	23
—— Historical Treasury	23
—— Scientific and Literary Treasury	23
—— Treasury of Knowledge	23
—— Treasury of Natural History	23
Maxwell's Theory of Heat	12
May's History of Democracy	2
—— History of England	2
Melville's Digby Grand	21
—— General Bounce	21
—— Gladiators	21
—— Good for Nothing	21
—— Holmby House	21
—— Interpreter	21
—— Kate Coventry	21
—— Queen's Maries	21
Memorials of *Charlotte Williams-Wynn*	4
Mendelssohn's Letters	5
Merivale's Fall of the Roman Republic	3
—— General History of Rome	3
—— Roman Triumvirates	4
—— Romans under the Empire	3
Merrifield's Arithmetic and Mensuration	12

	PAGE
Miles on Horse's Foot and Horse Shoeing	23
—— on Horse's Teeth and Stables	23
Mill (J.) on the Mind	6
—— Dissertations & Discussions	6
—— Essays on Religion	17
—— Hamilton's Philosophy	6
—— (J. S.) Liberty	5
—— Political Economy	5
—— Representative Government	5
—— System of Logic	6
—— Unsettled Questions	5
—— Utilitarianism	5
—— Autobiography	5
Miller's Elements of Chemistry	14
—— Inorganic Chemistry	12
Mitchell's Manual of Assaying	16
Milton's Lycidas, by *Jerram*	21
—— Paradise Regained, by *Jerram*	7
Modern Novelist's Library	21
Monsell's Spiritual Songs	18
Moore's Irish Melodies, Illustrated Edition	14
—— Lalla Rookh, Illustrated Edition	14
Morell's Mental Philosophy	6
Moreton on Horsebreaking	22
Mozart's Life, by *Nohl*	4
Müller's Chips from a German Workshop	8
—— Science of Language	8
—— Science of Religion	3
Nelson on the Moon	10
Nevile's Horses and Riding	22
New Testament, Illustrated Edition	15
Nicols's Puzzle of Life	13
Northcott's Lathes & Turning	15
O'Conor's Commentary on Hebrews	18
—— Romans	18
—— St. John	18
Osborn's Islam	3
Owen's Evenings with the Skeptics	7
—— (Prof.) Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of Vertebrate Animals	12
Packe's Guide to the Pyrenees	20
Parry's Origines Romanæ	21
—— Reges et Heroes	21
Pattison's Casaubon	5
Payen's Industrial Chemistry	15
Pewtner's Comprehensive Specifier	24
Pierce's Chess Problems	24
Pole's Game of Whist	23
Pope's Select Poems, by *Arnold*	7
Powell's Early England	20
Preece & Sivewright's Telegraphy	12
Present-Day Thoughts	8
Proctor's Astronomical Essays	10
—— Moon	10
—— Orbs around Us	10
—— Other Worlds than Ours	10
—— Saturn	10
—— Scientific Essays (Two Series)	12
—— Sun	10
—— Transits of Venus	10
—— Two Star Atlases	10
—— Universe	10
Prothero's De Montfort	2
Public Schools Atlas of Ancient Geography	9
—— Atlas of Modern Geography	9

	PAGE
Rawlinson's Parthia	3
——— Sassanians	3
Recreations of a Country Parson	8
Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists	14
Reeve's Residence in Vienna and Berlin	19
Reilly's Map of Mont Blanc	20
——— Monte Rosa	20
Reresby's Memoirs	5
Reynardson's Down the Road	22
Rich's Dictionary of Antiquities	9
Rivers's Rose Amateur's Guide	13
Rogers's Eclipse of Faith	17
——— Defence of Eclipse of Faith	17
——— Essays	5
Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases	8
Ronald's Fly-Fisher's Entomology	22
Roscoe's Outlines of Civil Procedure	6
Rothschild's Israelites	18
Rowley's Rise of the People	20
——— Settlement of the Constitution	20
Sandars's Justinian's Institutes	6
Sankey's Sparta and Thebes	4
Savile on Apparitions	8
——— on Primitive Faith	17
Schellen's Spectrum Analysis	10
Scott's Lectures on the Fine Arts	14
——— Poems	14
Seaside Musing	8
Seebohm's Oxford Reformers of 1498	3
——— Protestant Revolution	4
Sewell's History of France	2
——— Passing Thoughts on Religion	18
——— Preparation for Communion	18
——— Questions of the Day	18
——— Self-Examination for Confirmation	18
——— Stories and Tales	21
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